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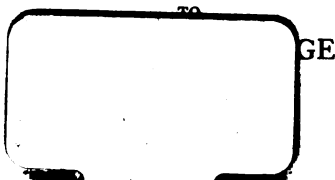
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A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

A.D. 1453-1900

IN SIX VOLUMES. VOL. VI

GEORGE BELL & SONS

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A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

BY
THOMAS HENRY DYER, LL.D.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE
END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A.
STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

VOL. VI. 1815-1900
WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX



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POPE.	DENMARK.	PRUSSIA.	RUSSIA.	SWEDEN.
Pius VI. . . . 1800 Pius VII. . . . 1823 Leo XII. . . . 1829 Pius VIII. . . . 1831 Gregory XVI. . . . 1846 Pius IX. . . . 1878 Leo XIII. . . . —	Christian VII. . . . 1808 Frederick VI. . . . 1839 Christian VIII. . . . 1848 Frederick VII. . . . 1863 Christian IX. . . . —	Frederick W. II. . . 1797 Fredct. Wm. III. . . 1840 Fredct. Wm. IV. . . 1861 William I. . . . 1888 (Emperor 1870.) Frederick III. . . . 1888 William II. . . . —	Paul I. . . . 1801 Alexander I. . . . 1825 Nicholas I. . . . 1855 Alexander II. . . . 1881 Alexander III. . . . 1894 Nicholas II. . . . —	Gustav. Ad. IV. . . 1809 Charles XIII. . . . 1818 Chas. John XIV. . . 1844 Oscar I. . . . 1859 Charles XV. . . . 1872 Oscar II. . . . —

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE REACTION IN EUROPE

DURING the years which succeeded the downfall of Napoleon and of the military predominance of France, the union and independence of cognate races, effected by the revolutions in Belgium, Greece, and Italy, present a striking contrast to their arbitrary separation and subjugation under foreign rulers, which so often prevailed in former times, and even at the Congress of Vienna. Another marked feature of the new epoch is the union of France and England, previously the bitterest opponents, as the protectors of liberal opinions against the despotism of the Eastern Empires. In the internal history of nations is to be observed a constant struggle for more liberal institutions. One of the worst features of the period is the vast augmentation of standing armies in the Continental countries, the result of the great military struggle with the first French Empire, and of national jealousies springing from the adjustments by which it was followed. Armies as great during peace as in the previous century they were in times of war, impoverish the people by withdrawing their flower from agriculture and manufactures, and by the taxes necessary for their maintenance;

A new
period
opens.

¹ Among the principal books for the period from 1814 to 1900, are Seignobos, *Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine*; Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe*; Stern, *Geschichte Europas*, sect. 1815; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*; Gervinus, *Gesch. des xix^{ten} Jahrhunderts*; Menzel (W.) *Gesch. der letzten 40 Jahre* (to 1856); Cantù, *Storia di Cento Anni* (1750-1850); Lamartine, *Hist. de la Restauration*.

while at the same time they are a constant threat to civil freedom, and a dangerous incentive to war by the ready means they offer for waging it. England, in a great measure exempt by her position from this disastrous competition, and aided by the wonderful progress of mechanical inventions, has experienced a vast increase of material prosperity and wealth.

State of
France.

One of the first acts of Louis XVIII. on re-entering his capital was to appoint Talleyrand his chief minister. The remnant of Napoleon's army, 45,000 strong, had retired beyond the Loire under Marshal Davoust, but yielding to necessity, hoisted the white flag, and was eventually disbanded. The war continued on the north-eastern frontier. The French commandants of some of the fortresses in that quarter, though willing to recognize the authority of Louis XVIII., refused to surrender to foreign troops, and the places had to be besieged. As it was considered necessary to the security of the throne that the Allies should continue to occupy some parts of France, the English army was stationed in the district north of the Seine, the Duke of Wellington having his headquarters at Paris; the Prussians were cantoned to the west of that capital, between the Seine and Loire; the Russians were distributed about the Oise, the Meuse, and the Moselle, while Prince Schwarzenberg's headquarters were at Fontainebleau. The eastern and southern provinces of France, including Provence, were also occupied by divisions of the allied armies, so that two-thirds of France were in their power. The armies of occupation at last amounted to more than a million men.

A new Chamber of Deputies, consisting of 395 members, was elected according to a method sanctioned only by a Royal Ordinance; but as its constitution was placed on a more liberal and democratic footing, this fact escaped observation and censure. The elections showed that France was become almost ultra-royalist. The Chamber of Peers was purged, and the peerage declared hereditary. In choosing Talleyrand and Fouché for his ministers, Louis was guided by the advice of the Duke of Wellington.

The Second
Peace of
Paris.

In July were begun the negotiations for the SECOND PEACE OF PARIS. The French were compelled to restore to their lawful owners those works of art which they had carried off from various European capitals in order to adorn their own. The definitive treaties between France and the Allies were

signed November 20th, 1815. France was now deprived of part of the territories which the Peace of 1814 had left to her. The Duchy of Bouillon, the towns of Philippeville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, Saarbrück and some adjacent districts, were assigned to the new kingdom of Belgium and to Prussia. The part of Alsace north of the Lauter was also detached from France, including Landau, which became a fortress of the German Confederation. Part of the county of Gex was assigned to Geneva, but Ferney was retained by France. The fortifications of Hüningen were to be demolished. From Geneva to the Mediterranean the line of demarcation existing in 1790 was to be followed, so that the King of Sardinia regained that part of Savoy which had been left to France by the former peace. But on the whole France lost only 20 square leagues of territory, whilst it had gained 40 by the annexation of the Venaisin by the Constituent Assembly. The indemnity to be paid to the Allies for the expenses of the war was fixed at seven hundred million francs (£28,000,000 sterling). A number of fortresses extending along the northern frontier were to be occupied, at the expense of France, by an allied army not exceeding 150,000 men for a maximum period of five years.¹ This term, however, was eventually much abridged. The army of occupation was placed under the command of the Duke of Wellington. Another treaty between Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, excluded the Bonaparte dynasty for ever from the French throne, and bound the contracting parties to employ their whole forces for that purpose.²

Royal ordinances of July 24th had expelled twenty-nine members from the Chamber of Peers, had ordered nineteen Generals or other officers, who had abandoned the King, to be arraigned before courts-martial; and thirty-eight persons to be placed under the *surveillance* of the police till they should be either banished or brought before the tribunals. The most remarkable among the Generals condemned was Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," who was shot on the morning of December 7th, near the Observatory of the Luxembourg. Ney

Marshal
Ney shot.

¹ Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambrai, Le Quesnoy, Manbeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroi, Givet, Charlemont, Mézières, Sedan, Montmédy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitché, and the *tête-du-pont* of Fort Louis. For an analysis of the treaties, see Koch et Schöll, *Traité de Paix*, t. xi. p. 498 sqq.

² Martens, Suppl. ii. p. 239 sqq.

was undoubtedly guilty of treachery ; but Louis violated by his execution the broader and more honourable interpretation of the Capitulation of Paris, which granted an amnesty to all within its walls. It was contended, however, that this applied only to civilians, and not to the military. Lavalette, Director General of the Posts, who had again seized that office on the flight of the King, and aided the return of Napoleon, was also condemned to death, but escaped through the heroism of his wife, who exchanged clothes with him in prison. Sir Robert Wilson also aided his flight. The day after the execution of Ney a general amnesty was proclaimed ; but the Chamber insisted on the perpetual banishment of regicides. On the whole the measures adopted by Louis XVIII. were marked by moderation. He disappointed the emigrants and ultra-Royalists by declining to support their cause so warmly as they had hoped. In the south of France the fanatical Royalists and priest-party took a ferocious vengeance on the Republicans and Bonapartists. Marshal Brune, one of Napoleon's Generals, was slain by the populace at Avignon in open day, in the presence of several thousand spectators. At Nîmes, regularly organized bands, led by Trestaillon and Pointou, slaughtered the Protestants as Bonapartists ; and similar scenes took place at Toulouse and other towns.

Conduct of
the Bour-
bons.

Louis XVIII., though far from popular, contrived, like his prototype Charles II., through good sense, and by accommodating himself to the spirit of the times, to die in possession of the crown ; while his brother, the Comte d'Artois, like the Duke of York in England, by his rigid adherence to obsolete principles, ultimately forfeited his own rights and those of his family. While Louis courted the middle class, at that time the predominant one in France, his brother Charles adhered exclusively to the nobles and clergy ; and the Pavillon Marsan, that part of the Tuileries which he inhabited, became the rendezvous of the admirers of the ancient *régime*, and the focus of reactionary intrigues. With all his bigotry, however, Charles possessed a certain dignity of character which saved him from contempt ; and though he was ridiculed as a Don Quixote and a Jesuit, he was hated rather than despised.

Congress of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

In September, Talleyrand was superseded in the Ministry by the Duke de Richelieu, one of the best and most respectable of the emigrant nobles, who had distinguished himself in the Russian service, as Governor of Odessa, by his humanity and

ability. At the same time Decazes replaced as head of the police, Fouché, Duke of Otranto, the blood-stained missionary of Nantes. Richelieu's influence with the Emperor Alexander succeeded in procuring for France a mitigation of the terms imposed by the treaties of November 20th, 1815. Already in February, 1817, the allied Courts had consented to reduce the army of occupation by 30,000 men, and the Congress of allied Sovereigns, which assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle at the end of September, 1818, decreed that the occupation should be entirely terminated in the following November. The sum payable by France was also reduced to 265,000,000 francs, of which 100,000,000 were to be acquitted by inscriptions on the great book of the public debt of France. These favourable terms were chiefly procured through the disinterested influence of the Duke of Wellington, who thus shortened the duration of the proud position which he occupied and of the vast emoluments which accompanied it. Soon afterwards an assassin attempted his life at Paris; an act afterwards rewarded by Napoleon with a legacy of 10,000 francs. The CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE put the finishing hand to the pacification of Europe. France as well as England now formally acceded, by a protocol signed November 15th, to the principles of the European Pentarchy for the maintenance of Peace, published in a Declaration of the same date, and to be upheld by means of conferences and congresses. The Congresses of Laibach in 1821, and of Verona in 1822, were the result of this agreement.

In December, 1818, Richelieu, alarmed at the number of Liberal members returned to the Assembly, among whom was Lafayette, resigned the Premiership, in which he was succeeded by General Dessolles; but Decazes, who became Minister of the Interior, was the real chief of the Cabinet. A more liberal policy was now adopted: the freedom of the press was extended, and an amnesty granted to many banished persons. Decazes was supported by the party called *Doctrinaires*, which took its rise about this time. At its head was Royer Collard, and it counted in its ranks many men distinguished by their talent, as Guizot, Villemain, Barante, Molé, and others. But the assassination, by Louvel, of the Duc de Berri, second son of the Comte d'Artois, when returning from the opera, February 13th, 1820, occasioned a return to less liberal measures. Louis, at the instance of his brother and of the Duchess of

French
Ministries.

Angoulême, now reluctantly dismissed Decazes, and Richelieu returned once more to power. Seven months after her husband's death the Duchesse de Berri gave birth to a Prince, the Duc de Bordeaux (September 29th, 1820). Richelieu introduced into the Ministry M. Villèle, an ultra-Royalist, who, in December, 1822, became Prime Minister. The revolutions against the Bourbon Governments in Spain and Italy in 1820, produced in France a further reaction which at length compelled Richelieu to retire.¹

The *Carbonari*, and other secret societies, had been introduced into France a few years after the restoration, and included in their members some Frenchmen of distinction, as Lafayette, Manuel, D'Argenson, Constant, and others. Lafayette presided over the central committee of the Parisian *Carbonari*. This restless spirit wanted, it is said, to make himself Dictator. Revolutions were several times attempted in different parts of France, but without success, though some of the *Carbonari* were put to death for them.

The Holy
Alliance.

The overthrow of Napoleon placed the supreme power in Europe in the hands of the Pentarchy, or five Great Powers, viz., England, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France. The Emperor Alexander I., whose inclination to mysticism was increased by his connection with a kindred spirit, the Baroness Krüdner, of Riga, whom he visited secretly every day, to pray with her and hear her counsels, conceived the idea of sanctioning the new system by a holy bond, and of regulating in future the measures of policy by the precepts of religion. With this view he persuaded the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to join with him in a treaty executed at Paris, September 26th, 1815, and subsequently styled the HOLY ALLIANCE.² All the potentates of Europe were invited to subscribe to it, with two exceptions: the Turkish Sultan, and the Roman Pontiff. In the preamble to this Convention the Signatories solemnly declared that the object of the act was to manifest to the universe their firm resolution to take for their rule of conduct, both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with foreign Governments, those holy and Christian precepts of justice, charity, and peace, which are not applicable to private life alone, but which ought also directly to influence the counsels of Princes, and to guide all

¹ See Dandet, *Louis XVIII. et le Duc Decazes*.

² Martens, *Suppl.* ii. p. 552 sqq.

their steps, as the only means of consolidating and perfecting all human institutions. It is needless to say that this Holy Alliance, like other holy leagues of the same description, became an instrument of despotism and was regarded with little favour in England.

A revolution which broke out in Spain encouraged the outbreak of revolutions in Portugal and Naples. The members of the Holy Alliance after their meeting at Laibach on January 2nd, 1821, suppressed the revolution in Naples, and after their meeting at Verona in October, 1822, took measures for the suppression of the rising in Spain. The King, Ferdinand VII., had returned from his French captivity full of projects of vengeance against his subjects, and with a determination to abolish the reforms introduced by the liberal Cortes in Church and State. During the war and the captivity of Ferdinand, the Cortes had, in March, 1812, established a new Constitution, the work of a small democratic faction, by which the Royal authority was reduced to little more than a name. That Assembly was declared altogether independent of the King, and was to consist only of one Chamber, invested with the legislative power; the prerogative of the King in that respect being restricted to proposing, and a temporary *veto*. The Cortes were also to determine yearly the amount of the land and sea forces; to confirm treaties of alliance and commerce; and to propose to the King the names of 120 persons, out of whom he was to select the 40 members of his Council of State. All ecclesiastical benefices and judicial offices were to be filled up by selecting from three persons named by this Council. The King was not to leave the Kingdom, nor to marry, without the consent of the Cortes, under the penalty of losing his throne.

Ferdinand VII. restored to liberty by Napoleon in 1814 (*supra*, vol. v., p. 512), immediately after his return applied himself to restore the ancient *régime*. On the other hand, the Cortes in turn had encroached on his prerogatives even in the most trivial matters. Ferdinand issued decrees in May abolishing the Constitution. All Liberals and Freemasons, and all adherents of the Cortes, and of the officers appointed by them, were either compelled to fly or subjected to imprisonment, or at least deposed. All national property was wrested from the purchasers of it, not only without compensation, but fines were even imposed upon the holders. Dissolved convents were re-established. The Inquisition was restored, and Mir Capillo,

Spanish
Constitution
of 1812.

Ferdinand
VII. and
the Cam-
arilla.

Bishop of Almeria, appointed Grand Inquisitor, who acted with fanatical severity, and is said to have incarcerated 50,000 persons for their opinions, many of whom were subjected to torture. But *autos da fé* were abolished. The Jesuits were restored and made controllers of education. Guerilla bands were dissolved, their leaders dismissed without reward, and commands in the regular army bestowed only upon the nobles. The adherents of Joseph Bonaparte and of the former French Government were banished. By these measures some of the bravest and most loyal spirits of the country were driven into the ranks of the opposition, and 10,000 persons are computed to have fled into France. The Kingdom was governed by a *Camarilla*, consisting of the King's favourites, selected from the lowest and most worthless of the courtiers; while most of his faithful friends, the companions of his exile, were dismissed. This *Camarilla* administered justice and bestowed offices accordingly as it was bribed.

Spanish
America.

The French invasion of Spain had occasioned a revolution in Spanish America. Till the dethronement of the Royal Family of Spain, the American colonies had remained loyal, and an insurrection attempted by General Miranda in the Caraccas, in 1806, had been speedily suppressed. But, like the mother country, the colonists revolted at the usurpation of Napoleon and his brother Joseph; and thus, properly speaking, they were no more to be called rebels than the Spaniards of the Old World. As, however, they declined to submit to the Juntas erected in Spain, they were declared to be rebels by the Regency established at Cadiz, August 31st, 1810. The insurrection had broken out in Venezuela in April, whence in the course of the year it spread over Rio de la Plata, New Granada, Mexico, and Chili. The insurgents demanded to be put on an equality with the inhabitants of Spain, freedom of manufactures and commerce, the admission of Spanish Americans to all offices, the restoration of the Jesuits, etc. The insurrection acquired its greatest strength in Venezuela, where it was first headed by Miranda, and subsequently, after 1813, by Simon Bolivar. In some of the other provinces its progress, owing to the dissensions of the inhabitants, was not so rapid and successful. After the restoration of Ferdinand, however, the movement had gone too far to be recalled, even had that Sovereign and his commanders displayed more moderation and good faith than was actually the case. Ferdinand ex-

hausted his disordered finances in a vain attempt to recover these colonies, for which purpose an expedition, under General Morillo, was despatched to America in 1815.¹ In 1819 the Floridas were sold to the Americans for one million and a quarter sterling.

The loss of the American colonies, and a bad system of rural economy, by which agriculture was neglected in favour of sheep breeding, had reduced Spain to great poverty. This state of things naturally affected the finances; the troops were left unpaid, and broke out into constant mutinies. A successful military insurrection, led by Colonels Quiroga and Riego, occurred in 1820. Mina, who had distinguished himself as a guerilla leader, but having compromised himself in a previous mutiny, had been compelled to fly into France, now recrossed the Pyrenees to aid the movement. The Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed at Saragossa; and Ferdinand, alarmed by an insurrection of the populace and the threats of General Ballesteros, who told him that he must either concede or abdicate, was obliged to swear to it at Madrid. The long-promised Cortes were convened in July, when Ferdinand opened the Assembly with a hypocritical speech, remarkable for its exaggeration of Liberal sentiments. The Cortes, at the dictation of the army, immediately proceeded again to dissolve the convents, and even to seize the tithes of the secular clergy, on the pretext that the money was required for the necessities of the State. The Inquisition was once more abolished, the freedom of the press ordained, the right of meeting and forming clubs restored; a large number of persons was dismissed from office, and replaced by members of the Liberal party. But on the whole the insurgents used their victory with moderation, and,

The Insurrection of 1820.

¹ It is impossible for us to describe the struggle between Spain and her colonies. The chief results were, that Bolivar achieved the independence of Venezuela and Granada, which were erected into the Republic of Colombia, Dec. 1819. In the previous May, the States of the Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres, had been constituted into the Argentine Republic. The independence of Chili and Peru was also secured by the aid of Bolivar, and the Republic of Bolivia was established in Upper Peru in August, 1825. In Mexico, Iturbide, who had become leader of the insurgents after the death of Hidalgo, Morelos, and Mina, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in 1822, but was dethroned in the following year, when the Republic of Mexico formed a league with Colombia. The independence of Colombia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres, was recognized by Great Britain, Jan. 1st, 1825. In Paraguay, Francia ruled as despot from 1810 to 1837.

with the exception of some few victims of revenge, contented themselves with depriving their opponents, the *Serviles*, of their places and emoluments.

Parties in
Spain.

The Spanish revolutionists were divided into three parties: the *Décamisados*, answering to the French *Sans-culottes*; the *Comuneros*, who were for a moderate constitutional system; and the *Anilleros*, known by the symbol of a ring; who, dreading the interference of the Holy Alliance, endeavoured to conciliate the people with the crown. There were riots in Madrid in 1821; when the *Décamisados* broke into the prison where the Canon Vinuesa was confined, who had attempted a counter-revolution, and murdered him with a hammer. Martinez de la Rosa was courageous enough to denounce the act in the Cortes; but it was approved by the great majority not only of that Assembly, but also of the nation; and in commemoration of it was instituted the "Order of the Hammer," having a small hammer for its badge. In Eastern Spain the Secret Societies seized several hundred obnoxious persons and shipped them off to the Balearic Islands and to the Canaries. The Government was too weak to interfere, and could only bring back a few in secret. General Morillo, who after his return from America had been appointed Governor of Madrid, attempted to re-establish a reactionary Ministry, but was compelled by popular agitation to dismiss it. The revolution, though originated by the soldiery, was adopted by the more educated class of citizens. On the other hand, the clergy and the peasantry were bitterly opposed to it. In the summer of 1821 guerilla bands were organized in the provinces in the cause of Church and King, and obtained the name of "Army of the Faith." One of the most noted leaders of these bands was Maranon, a monk of La Trappe. He was the first to mount to the assault of the fortified town of Seo de Urgel, where was established, in July, 1822, what was called a "Regency during the captivity of the King," under the presidency of the Marquis Mata Florida, the Bishop of Tarragona, and Baron d'Eroles. The Royalists got possession of nearly all Catalonia, but before the end of the year they were for the most part reduced by Mina, the Constitutional general. In these civil disturbances dreadful atrocities were committed on both sides.

The ravages of the yellow fever, which had been imported from America, and carried off many thousands, had some effect in

allaying these disturbances. The French Government, with the ulterior design of interfering in Spanish affairs, seized the pretext of this disorder to place a cordon of troops on the Pyrenees; to which the Spaniards opposed an army of observation. Ferdinand, relying on the Army of the Faith, and on his Foreign Minister, Martinez de la Rosa, a *Moderado*, thought he might venture on a *coup d'état* before the appearance of the French; but his guards were worsted in a street fight, July 7th, 1822. General Ballesteros and Morillo declared themselves averse to any infringement of the Constitution; at the same time Riego suddenly returned to Madrid, and was elected President of the Cortes. Ferdinand was now base enough to applaud and thank the victors, to dismiss the *Moderados* from the Ministry, and to replace them by *Exaltados*, or Radicals. The bloodthirsty fury of the clubs and the populace was gratified by the illegal execution of two Royalist commanders,—Colonel Geoffeux and General Elio. This state of things attracted the attention of the Holy Alliance. In October, 1822, the three Northern Monarchs assembled in congress at Verona to adopt some resolution respecting Spain. It appeared to them that every throne in Europe was threatened. The French Ministry, considering that the establishment of a Republic on the other side of the Pyrenees would endanger the Bourbon throne, were also inclined to intervene; while the English Cabinet, in which Canning was now Foreign Secretary, as well as the great mass of the English people, were averse to any interference, and especially by France. The policy of Metternich was now predominant. The Emperor Alexander had more than ever set his face against revolutions, had given up all his Eastern projects, and even abandoned the revolutionary Greeks, however serviceable that movement might eventually prove to him. It was at first the object of the three allied Powers to dispense with the co-operation of France in the affairs of Spain, and to bear down the opposition of England; but ultimately they resolved to support France, and each of the four Powers addressed a note of much the same tenor to the Madrid Cabinet, insisting on an end being put to the present state of things. The Duke of Wellington, who had attended the Congress for England, declined to interfere, and on returning home through Paris, warned Louis against interference in Spain, to which, indeed, the French King himself, as well as his Minister, Villèle, was averse.

Interference of the Holy Alliance.

The Congress of Verona, October, 1822.

But the Spaniards refused to listen to moderate counsels, and replied haughtily to all the expostulations of France; so that Chateaubriand himself, who had now become Minister at War, in the place of Montmorenci, though he had opposed at Verona the use of force, now adopted the contrary opinion.

In reply to the note of the Powers, San Miguel, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, told them that the constitution was the same which had been recognized by the Emperor Alexander in 1812, and declined to make any alteration; whereupon the ambassadors of the three Powers demanded and received their passports, January 11th, 1823. In the spring, the French army of observation, which had been increased to 100,000 men, was placed under the command of the Duke of Angoulême. To resist the threatened invasion, the Spanish Government appointed Mina to the defence of Catalonia, Ballesteros to that of Navarre, Morillo took the command in Galicia, Asturia, and Leon, while O'Donnell, Count of Abisbal, was stationed with the reserve in New Castile, to support either of those generals, as occasion might require. But these troops were few and ill-disciplined; while in Old Castile stood guerilla bands, under the priest Merino, ready to aid the French invasion. An attempt on the part of Ferdinand to dismiss his Liberal Ministry induced the Ministers and the Cortes to remove him to Seville (March 20th, 1823), whither the Cortes were to follow.

The French
in Spain,
1823.

The Duke of Angoulême addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards from Bayonne, April 2nd, in which he told them that he did not enter Spain as an enemy, but to liberate the captive King, and, in conjunction with the friends of order, to re-establish the altar and the throne. The French crossed the Bidasoa, April 7th. The only serious resistance which they experienced was from Mina. Ballesteros was not strong enough to oppose them, while the traitor O'Donnell entered into negotiations with the enemy, and opened to them the road to the capital. Ballesteros was compelled to retire into Valencia, and the French entered Madrid May 23rd. The Spaniards received the French as deliverers. A Regency, composed of the Duke del Infantado and four other nobles, was now instituted till the King should be rescued from the hands of the Liberals, and immediately commenced an unmeasured reaction. A French corps was despatched into Catalonia against Mina, who still held out in that province; and another against Seville,

where the Cortes had reopened their sittings; but on the advance of the French they retired to Cadiz, June 12th, taking with them the King, whom they declared of unsound mind, and a provisional Regency was appointed. Zayas arrested for a while the march of the French at Talavera de la Reyna, but was compelled to yield to superior numbers. Mina was shut up in Catalonia; Ballesteros, driven from Valencia into Granada, was defeated in the mountains near Campillo de Arenas, when he capitulated and acknowledged the Regency at Madrid. About the same time Morillo surrendered at Corunna. These events enabled the Duke of Angoulême to march with the bulk of his army to Cadiz, where he arrived August 16th. Fort Trocadero was captured on the 31st, Fort St. Petri on the 20th of September, when the bombardment of the city was begun. Cadiz having capitulated, October 1st, Valdez conducted the King to the French camp in a boat, while the Cortes made their escape by sea. All further resistance being now hopeless, Mina also capitulated, and surrendered to the French the fortresses which he still held in Catalonia, on condition of a free and unmolested retreat (November 2nd). Riego, who had endeavoured to annoy the French rear, was captured while attempting to join Mina. Sir Robert Wilson and a few other Englishmen had aided the Spanish Liberals in this struggle. The Duke of Angoulême returned to Paris before the end of the year, but Spain continued to be occupied by an army of 40,000 French.

The first act of Ferdinand after his release was to publish a proclamation, October 1st, revoking all that had been done since March 7th, 1820. The Inquisition, indeed, was not restored; but the vengeance exercised by the secular tribunals was so atrocious that the Duke of Angoulême issued an order prohibiting arrests not sanctioned by the French commander: an act, however, which on the principle of non-interference was disavowed by the French Government. The brave Riego was condemned to death at Madrid, November 7th, and the King and Queen of Spain made their public entry into Madrid on the 13th. The whole Spanish army was now disbanded, and its place supplied by the "Army of the Faith." These men were gradually formed into a militia called "Royal Volunteers," who plundered and murdered the Constitutionalists to their hearts' content; while the *Camarilla*, now directed by Victor Saez, the King's confessor, only laughed at the

King
Ferdinand
released.

exhortations to moderation addressed to them by the French and English Ambassadors. It is computed that 40,000 Constitutionalists, chiefly of the educated classes, were thrown into prison. The French remained in Spain till 1827. It was the occupation of Spain by the French that induced Canning, then the English Prime Minister, to recognize the Republics of South America, in order that if France held Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies.

The
Apostolic
Junta.

Zea Bermudez, the new Minister, endeavoured to rule with moderation. But he was opposed on all sides. The nobles and clergy attacked him because he attempted to tax them. His most dangerous enemy, however, was the APOSTOLIC JUNTA, erected in 1824 for the purpose of carrying out to its full extent, and independently of the Ministry, the victory of bigotry and absolutism. Saez was at the head of it, and the King sometimes attended its sittings. Every day it engrossed more and more the whole power of the State, and was thus engaged in continual conflicts with the Ministry. In 1825 Zea Bermudez, having caused the notorious Bessières to be shot for having organized riots in order to force the King to dismiss his Liberal Ministry, was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by the Duke del Infantado, who in turn succumbed to intrigue. The Junta now procured the appointment of the weak and incapable Salmon, and in the spring of 1827 excited in Catalonia an insurrection of the *Serviles*. The insurgents styled themselves *Aggriados* (aggrieved persons), because the King did not restore the Inquisition, and because he sometimes listened to his half-Liberal Ministers, or to the French and English Ambassadors, instead of suffering the Junta to rule uncontrolled. The history of the revolt is obscure. Saez, who had been relegated to his bishopric of Tortosa, and probably also the Northern Powers, were concerned in it, and the object seems to have been to dethrone Ferdinand in favour of his brother Carlos. But the Duke del Infantado, during his brief administration, had restored a regular army of 50,000 men, at the head of which España, accompanied by the King in person, proceeded into Catalonia, when the insurgents were subdued, the province disarmed, and many persons executed.

Portugal was also shaken by revolutions during this period. The Regent, who, on the death of his mother Maria, March 20th, 1816, ascended the throne with the title of John VI., continued, after the downfall of Napoleon, to reside in Brazil,

which had been erected in 1815 into the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. Lord Beresford, as a member of the Portuguese Regency, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, directed the affairs of Portugal. The discontent at this state of things was fanned into a revolt by the Spanish Revolution of 1820. Colonel Sepulveda established in August a Provisional Government in Oporto; and General Amarante, who had been despatched from Lisbon to quell the revolt, was compelled by his own troops to join the Junta of Oporto. In the middle of September a constitution even more liberal than that of Spain was proclaimed in Lisbon, and a Junta appointed to conduct the Government in the King's name. Lord Beresford, who had been absent in the Brazils during these occurrences, on his return to Portugal early in October, found that his power had departed, and was compelled to return with his officers to England. The English Government forebore to interfere, and left the settlement of matters to King John. That Sovereign was himself driven from Brazil in April, 1821, by an insurrection of the Portuguese soldiery in favour of the constitution promulgated in the mother country, and sailed for Portugal, leaving his eldest son, Don Pedro, Regent of Brazil. On his arrival in Portugal in July, John VI. accepted the constitution which had been framed during his absence; but his wife, Charlotte, a sister of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, refused to take the oath to it.

Revolution
in Portugal,
1820.
John VI.
returns.

The interference of the Holy Alliance and of the French in the affairs of Spain, encouraged the reactionary party in Portugal. Towards the end of February, 1823, Count Amarante, the Queen's most distinguished adherent, raised the standard of revolt at Villa Franca, and was immediately joined by several regiments. Dom Miguel, the Queen's youngest and favourite son, fled secretly from Lisbon toward the end of May, and proceeded to the camp of the insurgents; when Sepulveda, betraying the freedom which he had himself established, also joined the reactionary movement. The people of Lisbon followed the impulse of the soldiery; the Cortes, seeing themselves abandoned, dispersed; the Ministers resigned; the King, as usual, submitted, and on the 5th of June the new constitution was abolished. This reaction was accomplished without bloodshed. From this time all the Queen's efforts were directed to dethrone her husband and procure the crown for Dom Miguel. The Marquis Loulé, the King's chamberlain

Reaction in
Portugal.

and favourite, who had the reputation of a Liberal, was found murdered, March 1st, 1824, and the Minister at War received letters threatening him with a similar fate. Dom Miguel, having assembled the garrison of Lisbon, April 30th, exhorted them to extirpate all Freemasons and Liberals; caused all generals, ministers, and officers suspected of Liberalism to be apprehended, and even the King, his father, to be placed under surveillance. John would no doubt have now been compelled to resign his crown but for the interference of the French and English Ambassadors and the diplomatic corps. To avoid the machinations of his son, John went on board the "Windsor Castle," a British man-of-war, in the Tagus, May 9th, whither he was followed by all the foreign ambassadors. From this refuge the King issued orders forbidding anybody to obey his son; when Dom Miguel, finding himself abandoned by part of his troops, threw himself at his father's feet and implored his forgiveness. This he obtained, but he was ordered to leave the Kingdom, and took up his residence at Vienna. While these events were passing in the mother country, Don Pedro constituted himself Emperor of Brazil by the aid of the revolutionary party, October 12th, 1822, and the Empire of Brazil was declared independent. John VI. was induced through British mediation to recognize the new empire, May 15th, 1825.

Revolutions
in Italy.

The endeavours of the Spaniards to set up a constitutional King, roused a similar desire in other countries. The Italian peninsula, like the Iberian, was also shaken by revolutions. Pius VII. had re-established, so far as was possible, the ancient state of things, and was favoured by all the European Powers. Ferdinand IV., restored to his Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by Austria, had been put, as it were, under her guardianship by his treaty of alliance with that Power of April 29th, 1815. By a Concordat with the Pope, Ferdinand restored the Papal influence in Naples, though he refused to acknowledge his vassalage to the Holy See by the ancient tribute of a white palfrey. An attempt by Murat to regain the crown proved fatal to that adventurer. Murat, the son of a village shop-keeper, not content with an asylum in the Austrian States, and a fortune such as he could not have ventured to dream of at the beginning of his military career, after many hair-breadth escapes and romantic adventures in flying from France to Corsica after the restoration, made a descent at Pizzo, in Calabria, October 8th, 1815, in the hope that the people would

Murat shot.

declare in his favour ; but falling into a snare laid for him by the *podestà* of the place, he was captured and shot as a common rebel, October 13th.

Various secret societies had sprung up in Naples and Sicily, which, on the departure of the Austrian troops in 1817, began to manifest themselves. The chief of these were the so-called *Carbonari*, or charcoal-men : to oppose whom was instituted the loyal society of *Calderarii* (tinkers or braziers, who use the coals). The *Carbonari* comprised more than half a million persons, chiefly of the higher and better educated classes, and of the army. The *Calderarii* had originated in Sicily, with the Prince of Canosa, the Minister of Police, at their head. It was rumoured that a society of *Sanfedisti* had been formed under the auspices of Count De Maistre, the publicist, in which were enrolled Princes and Prelates, with the design of uniting all Italy under the Pope, a project afterwards revived. The Spanish revolution of 1820 had an electrical effect at Naples ; and it is remarkable that here also the insurrection was organized by the soldiery. On the night of June 1st, Lieutenant Morelli proclaimed the Constitution at Nola, at the head of a squadron of horse ; and, hastening to Avellino, was immediately joined both by the civil and military officers there, who had long been *Carbonari*. General Pepé, the Commandant of Naples, put himself at the head of the insurrection, and with a regiment of cavalry joined the insurgents at Salerno ; while General Carascosa, whom the King had despatched against them with 5,000 men, remained undecided and inactive. Symptoms of revolt having manifested themselves at Naples itself, the King, without striking a blow, conceded all demands ; dismissed his Ministers, replaced them by Liberals, and proclaimed the Spanish Constitution of 1812, which the people hardly knew even by name, instead of the Liberal Sicilian Constitution of the same date ; which, however, had been abrogated. The Sicilians also rose ; not, however, to aid the sister country, but to proclaim their own independence. Ferdinand IV., under the pretext of illness, abandoned the government to his son Francis, Duke of Calabria ; when Carascosa and Pepé returned to Naples, and the army, the people, the Court, and the Crown Prince himself assumed the *Carbonari* colours (black, pink, and sky-blue).¹

Secret
Societies in
Italy.

Revolution
in Naples,
1820.

¹ For the Neapolitan insurrection, see Colletta, *Storia di Napoli*, t. ii.

Revolution
in Naples.

The Neapolitan revolution was entirely a military one, and the only fighting that occurred was between some regiments which differed in opinion ; that of Sicily was a popular insurrection. The Viceroy, General Naselli, having displayed the *Carbonari* colours, the people of Palermo assumed the yellow badge of Sicily ; and on the festival of St. Rosalia, July 15th, the chief one of the Palermitans, they demanded the independence of the island under a Prince of the Royal House. General Church, an Englishman, who commanded the garrison at Palermo, having attempted to interfere, was compelled to fly for his life ; Naselli also fled after having established a Provisional Junta, to which, however, no respect was paid. The people, having defeated the troops in a battle, obtained entire possession of Palermo, which during two consecutive days became a scene of robbery and massacre. A new Junta was now appointed, at the head of which was the Prince of Villa Franca, and one Vagleia, of Monreale, a monk. But the revolutionary Government at Naples despatched 5,000 men against Palermo, and compelled that city to capitulate, October 5th.

The Con-
gress of
Troppau,
1820.

The Neapolitan revolution inspired the Austrian Government with alarm for the safety of all Italy, and Metternich brought about a Congress at Troppau in October, 1820, which was attended by the Emperors Alexander and Francis, and the Crown Prince of Prussia ; by the Ministers, Metternich, for Austria ; Hardenberg, for Prussia ; Nesselrode and Capodistria, for Russia ; Caraman and Laferronnays, for France, and Sir Charles Stewart, for England. Ferdinand, at the invitation of the Allies, obtained the reluctant consent of his people to go to Troppau in the character, as he affirmed, of a mediator, and after renewing his oath to the constitution. Up to this period Alexander had acted in a liberal and beneficent spirit. He had emancipated the serfs in Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, had ameliorated their condition throughout the Empire, and had promoted education and favoured religious toleration. But the military revolutions in Spain and Italy filled him with alarm, for the soldiery were the main prop of his own power. In spite of the opposition of England and France, and even at first, in some degree, of Russia, which dreaded too great a preponderance of Austria in Italy, Metternich succeeded in forming a League between Austria, Russia, and Prussia for the suppression of the Neapolitan rebellion. The Congress was transferred to Laibach in January, 1821,

The Con-
gress at
Laibach,
1821.

when it was determined to send an Austrian army into the Neapolitan dominions. France acquiesced, and England, single-handed, could do nothing but protest. Next month, 60,000 Austrians, under General Frimont, marched into the South of Italy, with Ferdinand in their train, who plainly threatened to abolish the new constitution. The Neapolitans had raised an army equal in number to that of the invaders, and such was the national enthusiasm, that it was joined by the friends and kinsfolk of the King, and even by the Prince of Salerno, his son. But the constitutional troops were for the most part raw and ill-disciplined, and badly supplied with arms and provisions; and the Austrians, after overcoming some slight resistance from Pepé and Carascosa, entered Naples, March 24th. Ferdinand now gave vent to the wrath which he had postponed at his restoration. The people were disarmed, all suspected persons were arrested, and confiscations and executions became the order of the day. Walmoden was sent with a body of Austrians into Sicily, to restore the ancient state of things in that island.

The effects of the Spanish revolution also extended to Piedmont, where Victor Emanuel I., after his restoration, had placed everything as much as possible on the old footing. The *Carbonari* were also active here, and were in communication with those of Naples, and with the malcontents in France. They even induced Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, to enter into their plots. That Prince, though but a distant kinsman of the King, was presumptive heir to the throne, Victor Emanuel, having only a daughter, whose succession was barred by Salic law. The *Carbonari* flattered Charles Albert with the hope of becoming King of all Italy if the revolution should succeed; and after some hesitation he agreed to enter into their schemes. On the 9th of March, 1821, Colonel Arsaldi proclaimed at Alessandria the Spanish Constitution, and the troops at Turin also hoisted the three-coloured flag. Victor Emanuel, abandoning the Government to the Prince of Carignano, abdicated the throne March 13th, in favour of his brother, Charles Felix, then residing at Modena. The insurrection was put down by a portion of the troops which remained faithful to the King, helped by an Austrian force under Count Bubna. Victor Emanuel, however, declined to resume the crown which he had relinquished. The Prince of Carignano, who had secretly assured the new King that he, as well as the higher

Revolution
in Pied-
mont.

class in general, was adverse to the revolution, was only punished by two years' relegation from the Court; and Charles Felix, who was also childless, maintained the Prince's right to the crown, in spite of the endeavours of Austria to obtain it for the Duke of Modena, son of the Archduke Ferdinand and of Beatrix, the only daughter of Victor Emanuel.

Secret
Societies in
Lombardy,
and Silvio
Pellico.

Lombardy also contained many secret societies, and was, in fact, the chief centre of the *Carbonari*, and of the society of "Italian Federation," which was to be the nucleus of the insurgent populations. Lombardy was to have risen when the Piedmontese army had crossed the Ticino. But this expectation was frustrated, and such was the vigilance of the police, that any outbreak was prevented; though the Archduke Rainer, who resided as Viceroy with his family at Milan, fled at the first alarm of danger. Towards the end of 1821 the police discovered and captured some members of a secret society, among the most noted of whom were Confalonieri and Silvio Pellico. The latter, in a well-known work, has related the particulars of his imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg at Brünn, the capital of Moravia. The Emperor himself is said to have regulated, down to the minutest particulars, the treatment of the prisoners confined there.

The
Austrian
Govern-
ment.

While the Austrian Government, guided by the counsels of Metternich, kept so vigilant an eye on the domestic affairs of other countries, the home administration was conducted on a system of *laissez-aller*, which though popular enough with the indolent, pleasure-seeking Viennese, was highly detrimental to the interests of the State. Everything was neglected. In a time of peace, the Government got every year deeper into debt. The Russians, in conformity with the Peace of Adrianople, were allowed to settle at the mouth of the Danube, and thus virtually to command that river. The harbour of Venice was suffered to fill with sand, and the steam navigation between that port and Trieste to be monopolized by the English. In the midst of this frivolity of the Austrians and their Government, the Bohemian, Hungarian, and Italian nationalities began to expand and to develop themselves into formidable Powers. The movement, taking its origin in Bohemia and Hungary in the study of national antiquities and literature, assumed at length a political cast, and begot a desire for national independence.¹

¹ Wolfgang Menzel, *Gesch. der letzten 40 Jahre*, B. i. S. 26.

With regard to Church matters, the Emperor and his Ministers, were far from being bigoted. Intellectual culture among the clergy was discouraged; the pretensions of Rome were repressed, and the Pope was obliged to confirm the Italian bishops nominated by the Emperor. The Jesuits were excluded from the Austrian dominions till 1820, and were then only admitted in Italy and Galicia.

The after-shocks of that great social convulsion which had agitated Europe since 1792, were also felt in Germany as well as in Italy and the Spanish Peninsula. The Germans in general were desirous of an extension of their political liberties, and a confirmation of them by means of constitutions, which had indeed been promised by the Act of Confederation. This matter occasioned some serious disputes between the King of Würtemberg and his subjects. But the Germans are a people who seem little capable of initiating revolutionary movements, and require to be influenced by an impulse from without. States were assembled in Würtemberg, Baden and Hanover, but not in Prussia. Till the second French Revolution in 1830, political demonstrations in Germany were mostly confined to the students of the universities. These, however, were mere harmless mummeries, such as the adoption of a particular dress, the displaying of the German colours, and other acts of the same kind. The most remarkable demonstration occurred in 1817, on the celebration of the third centenary of the Reformation; when on the 18th of October, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, a number of students from various universities assembled at the Wartburg near Eisenach, the scene of Luther's concealment. After the festival had been celebrated with songs, speeches, and a procession by torch-light, most of the students dispersed; but a few remained behind, and amused themselves with burning certain insignia of the German military service, as well as some histories and other works of an anti-Liberal tendency. The whole affair was absurd and harmless enough, and would speedily have sunk into oblivion had it not been magnified into importance by the notice taken of it by the Prussian and Austrian Ministers. Hence it attracted the attention of the Emperor Alexander, who in the following year took upon himself to interpose in the domestic affairs of Germany by directing his Minister Stourdza to denounce to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle the revolutionary movements of the German students. Among the agents of

German
patriotism.

**Murder of
Kotzebue.**

Russia in Germany was Augustus von Kotzebue, the dramatist, who was suspected of transmitting to St. Petersburg information against the students, and in a weekly paper which he edited, employed himself in turning them and their professors into ridicule. One Sand, a student of Jena, irritated by the denunciations which he heard against Kotzebue, and inflamed by a mistaken patriotism, set off for Mannheim, Kotzebue's residence, and stabbed him to the heart, March 23rd, 1819. After the murder, Sand made an ineffectual attempt at suicide, and in conformity with the German law, which requires confession of a crime before execution, was not executed till fourteen months afterwards. This act of Sand's confirmed the German statesmen in their notion of a secret and widespread conspiracy, or rather, perhaps, afforded them a pretext to act as if such a thing really existed. At a Congress of German Ministers, held at Carlsbad in July, 1819, which was attended by the Princes Metternich and Hardenberg, Count Rechberg from Bavaria, and others, were adopted what have been called the Carlsbad Resolutions, viz., a more rigid superintendence of the press, the suppression of the independence of the universities, and the establishment of a central Commission of Inquiry at Mainz, to discover the existing conspiracy, and to punish the participators in it. These Resolutions were adopted by the Federal Diet, September 27th. But though the Commission sat ten years, filled the prisons with students, and deprived of their chairs, and even banished, many of the professors at the universities, still it did not succeed in discovering any conspiracy, for in fact none existed.

**Expedition
to Algiers.**

Few other events of European importance occurred during the reign of Louis XVIII. of France. It will suffice to remind the reader of the English expedition to Algiers under Admiral Sir E. Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, in August, 1816; when, with the assistance of a small Dutch squadron, the fortifications of the place were destroyed, 7,000 Algerines killed, and that nest of pirates was reduced to submission, though not without great loss on the part of the British. The Dey was compelled to abolish Christian slavery for ever, and to liberate upwards of 3,000 Christian slaves of all nations, who were detained at Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. George III. died January 29th, 1820, and was succeeded on the throne by George IV., who had long been Regent. Sweden also had experienced a change of Sovereign by the death of Charles XIII.

**Deaths of
George III.,
Charles
XIII., and
Pius VII.**

in February, 1818, and the accession of Bernadotte, Crown Prince by adoption, with the title of Charles XIV. On the decease of Pope Pius VII., August 20th, 1823, the Cardinal della Genga, a bigoted churchman, was elected to the Papal chair, and assumed the title of Leo XII.

Louis XVIII. died unregretted, September 16th, 1824. He was not destitute of talent; he had considerable literary culture, and as he had sense enough to accommodate himself to the temper of the times, he was a suitable King to succeed the turbulence of the Republic and the Empire. His brother, Charles X., who now ascended the throne, had, during the last year or two, been virtually ruler of France. Some of his first measures seemed to promise liberality. He suffered the Constitution to remain, and he abolished the censorship of the press. This last act, however, was soon recalled; while the dismissal of 150 generals and superior officers of the time of Napoleon enlisted against him the feelings of the army. The favour which he showed to the House of Orleans seemed a concession made to the Liberal party. Louis Philippe, the head of the family, had returned to France. He had married Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, by whom he had many children, and appeared to lead far from the Court a quiet and secluded life. But under this exterior he concealed ambition, and sought to recommend himself to the people by the assumption of a citizenlike simplicity. Charles X. mistook his character. In the hope of conquering him by generosity, and identifying the interests of the elder and younger Bourbons, Charles conferred upon him, unsolicited, the title of Royal Highness, and directed that the vast estates should be restored to him which, before the Revolution, had formed the *apanage* of the House of Orleans. But Louis Philippe did not respond to these generous acts by giving the King his political support. At the same time, in order to secure the Crown to the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, Charles declared his son, the Duke of Angoulême, now past middle age, Dauphin, and he caused this act, as well as the magnificent grant to the Orleans family, to be confirmed by the Chambers.

Charles X. was crowned with the usual solemnities at Rheims, May 29th, 1825. He soon, however, discovered from unmistakable symptoms that the ancient *régime* had irrevocably departed. He sought to combat revolutionary

Death of
Louis
XVIII.
Charles X.
King of
France,
1824.

Coronation
of Charles
X., 1825.

ideas by means of religion, and the influence of the *parti prêtre*. The Jesuits were re-established, and new colleges founded for them; the Court assumed an air of ostentatious devotion; magnificent processions of ecclesiastics paraded the streets; and great pains were taken to inspire the soldiery with religious fervour. But it soon became manifest that such projects were useless. The death of General Foy, one of the heads of the Liberal party, November 28th, gave occasion for a popular demonstration. His funeral was attended by 100,000 persons in mourning and bareheaded, though it rained in torrents, and a subscription for his widow reached a million francs, the Duke of Orleans contributing 10,000. The popular feeling was still more directly manifested at a review of the National Guard, April 29th, 1827. No cries were heard but *Vive la Charte!* not a single cheer was raised for the King; and some of the regiments shouted *A bas les ministres! à bas les Jésuites!* On the next day the National Guard was dissolved. M. Villèle hoped to overcome the opposition to the Government by a new Chamber; but the elections gave 428 Liberals against 125 Ministerialists, and Villèle, who was highly unpopular, felt himself compelled to resign (January 3rd, 1828).

Martignac's
Ministry.

M. de Martignac, who now became Prime Minister, introduced some popular measures. Among these were a new law of the press, relaxing the rules prescribed to journalists; and several regulations against the Jesuits. At this period Royer Collard was President of the second Chamber; on the left or Opposition benches of which sat Benjamin Constant, Lafayette, Casimir Périer, Lafitte, and other distinguished men. Martignac's foreign policy was also Liberal. He acted in conjunction with England in the affairs of Portugal and Greece; the French fleet took part in the battle of Navarino, and General Maison led a French army into the Morea. But before we relate these events we must take a brief retrospect of the Greek Revolution.

The Turkish
Empire.

The Turkish Empire had long been in a declining state. The Sultans were little more than the puppets of the Janissaries. The reforms attempted by Selim III. had terminated in his deposition in 1807, as we have already related. His successor, Mustapha IV., had scarcely enjoyed the throne a year when he also was dethroned, July 28th, 1808, in an insurrection headed by Mustapha Bairactar, Pasha of Rust-

chuk. His half-brother, Mahmoud II., was now elevated to the throne, which, however, he enjoyed only by sufferance of the Janissaries. The war which broke out again with Russia in 1809 inflicted fresh losses on Turkey, and it would probably have gone hard with her had not the imminence of a war with France induced the Emperor Alexander to grant the Porte moderate conditions. By the Peace of Bucharest, however, May 28th, 1812, Russia remained in possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia as far as the Pruth. Turkey seemed almost in a state of dissolution. The army was disorganized; in Egypt Mehemet Ali had nearly rendered himself independent; in the provinces the pashas were constantly revolting.

That the Turks should have so long maintained their empire in Europe over peoples so much more numerous than themselves, must perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that these peoples are composed of various races unfitted to combine in any general political object, and that the Turk, as a soldier, is far superior to those over whom he rules. He has never mingled, like the conquerors of the North, with the Christian races he has subdued and regards as his slaves. His fatalism and his indolence deprive him of all wish to acquire the arts and manners of a higher civilization; hence the line between him and his European subjects is as strongly drawn as in the first days of conquest, and will most probably remain so as long as he holds supreme power. Exclusive of Armenians and Jews, the European subjects of the Sultan are composed of four distinct races, speaking different languages, and having different laws and customs, viz. Slav, Roumans, Albanians, and Greeks. Of these races the Slav, inhabiting Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Montenegro, amounting to upwards of seven million souls, is by far the most numerous. But these different Slav races were never united among themselves. The Montenegrins, in their inaccessible mountains, have preserved from the earliest period a sort of independence, which the Servians also have partly succeeded in achieving. The Rouman or Wallach population, inhabiting the trans-Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and still speaking a bastard Latin dialect, come next in point of number, counting about four million souls. The Albanians or Arnauts, inhabiting the west coast of Turkey, the ancient Epirus, amount to about one and a half

Condition
of the
Turkish
Empire.

Ali Pasha of
Jannina.

million. It was among these mountaineers that Ali Pasha of Jannina, established towards the end of the last century a kind of independent rule. This remarkable barbarian was the son of Veli Bey, Aga of Tebelen, and of Chamco, a woman of great beauty and spirit, said to have been a descendant of Scanderbeg. Ali's early years were spent in marauding expeditions; his more ambitious schemes were fostered by a marriage with Emina, daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, one of the three Pashalics into which Albania is divided, the other two being Paramatia and Jannina. Ali's father-in-law having been strangled for aiding Greek sedition, was succeeded in his Pashalic by Selim, who favoured and befriended Ali; but Selim having incurred the suspicion of the Porte, Ali treacherously murdered him, and sent his head to Constantinople. For this base and inhuman act he was rewarded with the Pashalic of Thessaly, where by his extortions he amassed sufficient treasure to purchase the Pashalic of Jannina.

The Greeks.

The Greeks, the smallest in point of number of all the European races under Ottoman sway, comprising hardly more than one million souls, have alone succeeded, by means of European sympathy, in asserting their entire independence of the Turks. They inhabit the Morea, the adjoining province of Livadia, or ancient Greece proper, the islands of the Archipelago, and the Ionian Islands, besides being scattered in some of the larger cities of the Turkish Empire, as Constantinople, Smyrna, etc. The increase of wealth, acquired by commerce, had inspired them with new tastes and more extended ideas. Young men of the upper classes were sent to Paris and other places for education; in the schools established at home the Greek classics were read, and, whatever may be the right of the modern Greeks to trace their descent from the ancient Hellenes, inspired the youth with a love of liberty and a desire to emulate their assumed ancestors. Among a people thus disposed, the Spanish revolution of 1820 was not without its influence. Their aspirations for independence were encouraged by the *dilettante* Philhellenism which, in many parts of Europe, had become a sort of fashion. We have already adverted to the origin of this feeling in the time of Voltaire and Catharine II. of Russia; in which latter country, however, it was solely a political idea, cherished with the view of weakening Turkey and rendering her an easier prey.

The disappointed hope that something would have been done for them at the Congress of Vienna, led the Greeks to form Secret Societies, or Hetaireiæ, with the view of securing their independence by revolt. These societies contained some distinguished persons, as Count Capodistrias, Secretary of the Emperor Alexander, nay, it was even supposed the Emperor himself. However this may be, it is certain that the Greeks relied on Russian aid. A rising of the Greeks, though often contemplated, was first actually agitated to any purpose by Alexander Ypsilanti, son of the Phanariot Hospodar of Wallachia, before mentioned, and a general in the Russian service.¹ From Kischneff in Bessarabia, whither he had removed from Moscow the central committee of the Hetairia, he despatched agents in all directions to incite the Greeks to rise (1820). But the insurrection first broke out in Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1821, during which the Christians displayed as much barbarity as their lords, by massacring great numbers of Turks in Jassy and Galatz, and plundering their houses. This revolt, however, was disclaimed and reproved by Alexander and denounced by the Patriarch, and was easily put down by the Turks. Soon after insurrectionary symptoms began to show themselves in Greece, especially among the Mainotes, as well as in the north of the Morea, in the Archipelago, and at Athens, where the inhabitants compelled the Turks to take refuge in the Acropolis. Ali, Pasha of Jannina, took part in the movement, and was joined by Odysseus, the leader of some Albanian tribes despatched against Ali by the Sultan. A civil war now began. It was marked by the most frightful massacres. The chief events of the first two or three years were, the promulgation of a new Constitution for Greece on New Year's Day, 1822; the reduction and murder of Ali Pasha, who, though still a Mahommedan, caused a diversion in favour of the Greeks (February 5th); the taking of Scio by the Turks in April, when they massacred some 25,000 of the inhabitants, and enslaved about double that number, so that, including the fugitives, the island was almost depopulated; and the capture of Napoli di Romania by the Greeks, under Kolokotroni, December 21st. At this period Mavrocordato, a Phanariot of ancient family, was the principal leader of the revolution. The war continued through

Insurrec-
tion of the
Greeks.

¹ See Phillip's *History of the Greek Revolution*.

1823, and it was not till the following year that the Western Powers began to interfere. Sultan Mahmoud had treated the Greeks with moderation, in order apparently to deprive Russia of any pretence for intervention, and the Emperor Alexander refrained from interfering, though he proposed to the principal European Powers early in 1823 that the Greeks should be placed in the same relation to the Porte as the Danubian Principalities, and should be governed by four Hospodars. The European Governments, however, were not yet prepared to interfere, though in many countries a strong Philhellenistic feeling prevailed. The first active aid for the Greeks came from England. The accession of Canning to the Ministry, as Foreign Secretary, was favourable to their cause, and early in 1824 they obtained in London a loan of £800,000. Lord Byron, an ardent Philhellenist, not content with assisting them from his own resources with money and arms, proceeded to Greece to give them his personal aid. He was accompanied by Colonel Stanhope. But a nearer acquaintance with the Greeks speedily dissipated all classical illusions. Byron died at Missolonghi, April 19th, from vexation, disappointment, and the effects of the climate. Stanhope was cheated and laughed at by the treacherous Odysseus, who seems to have possessed all the slyness of his classical namesake.¹ In December, 1824, Canning recognized the Greek Government by sending them a friendly note.

Death of
Alexander
I. Accession
of Nicholas
I.

The death of the Emperor Alexander I., who, at the early age of forty-eight expired after a short illness at Taganrog on the Sea of Azov, December 1st, 1825, accelerated the crisis of the Greek revolution. The Russian throne now devolved to Nicholas I., Alexander's youngest brother, in favour of whom Constantine, the second brother, Governor of Poland, had formally renounced his rights. Nicholas, however, seems not to have been aware of this; at all events, when the news of Alexander's death arrived at St. Petersburg, he caused the troops to swear obedience to Constantine. This circumstance was near producing a revolt. Constantine persisted in and publicly notified his renunciation of the crown. But when the soldiery were again called upon to take the oath to Nicholas, a large portion of them, incited, it is said, by a

¹ That chief, being suspected of intriguing with the Turks, was put to death at Athens in June, 1825.

faction led by Prince Trubetzkoï, who were for establishing a federative republic, refused to accept the change, and it became necessary to shoot down some of the regiments with artillery. When Nicholas was crowned at Moscow, Constantine hastened from Warsaw, was the first to do him homage, and embraced him in public, in order that no doubts might remain of the good faith of this transaction.

The accession of Nicholas inaugurated a new era in Russian policy. Alexander, like his predecessors since Peter the Great, had favoured the introduction of foreign culture and manners. Nicholas was distinguished by his predilection for the ancient Muscovitism, and a bigoted adherence to the Greek Church. He made no secret of his pretensions to be the Pope and Emperor of the Greeks, wheresoever they might dwell, and it might be anticipated that he would not remain a passive spectator of the Greek revolution. The Duke of Wellington, who was sent to congratulate Nicholas on his accession, was at the same time instructed to come to an understanding with him on this question. The Tsar at first disputed the right of other Powers to intermeddle with his policy regarding Turkey, but at length consented to sign a secret Convention, April 4th, 1826, by which he recognized the new Greek State; which was, however, to pay a yearly tribute to the Porte. Turkey was to be compelled to accept this arrangement, to which the accession of the remaining members of the Pentarchy was to be invited.

A new era
in Russian
policy.

It was precisely at this juncture that Turkey was still further weakened by a domestic convulsion. Towards the end of May, 1826, Sultan Mahmoud II. issued a *hattischerif* for the reform of the Janissaries, which, however, still left them considerable privileges. Nevertheless, that licentious soldiery rose in insurrection on the night of June 14th, and plundered the palaces of three grandees whom they considered to be the authors of the decree. The riot was continued on the following day. But the Janissaries had neither plan nor leaders, and the Sultan, who had previously assured himself of the support of the *Ulema*, as well as of the marine, the artillery, and other troops, putting himself at the head of the bands that remained faithful to him, and displaying the tunic of the Prophet, dismissed the crowd which surrounded it to the slaughter of the Janissaries assembled in the Hippodrome. In a single night 4,000 were massacred and cast into

Extermination
of the
Janissaries.

the Hellespont; in the following days 25,000 more. Their wives and children were also murdered, and their very name abolished.

The Treaty
of Akerman,
1826.

Mahmoud had vanquished his domestic enemies, but by the same act had rendered himself defenceless against external ones; and, being hampered by the Greek insurrection, he found himself compelled to submit to all the dictates of Russia regarding the points which had been left undecided by the Treaty of Bucharest. By the Treaty of Akerman, October 7th, 1826, the Porte consented that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, though appointed by the Sultan for a period of seven years, should rule independently; that they should have a divan chosen from among the Boyars, and should not be deposed without the sanction of the Tsar. The Servians, though still tributary to the Porte, were to elect their own princes; the Porte was to restore the districts which had been taken from them, and to refrain from interfering in their affairs. Russia was to occupy the east coast of the Black Sea, and her vessels were to have free entrance into all the Turkish waters.

Erection of
the Greek
Kingdom.

Greece was not mentioned in this treaty; but Canning perceived the necessity of preventing the Russians from invading Turkey in its present defenceless state under pretence of the Greek cause. The events of the last year or two had been unfavourable for the Greeks. Mehemet Ali, who cherished hopes of the whole Turkish succession, had, early in 1825, despatched into the Morea an army of 17,000 men under his adopted son, Ibrahim, by whom the Greeks had been defeated, and Navarino taken in May, as well as the little island of Sphagia which lies before it. Hence Ibrahim made incursions into the Morea, but achieved no extensive or lasting conquests till in April, 1826, having been joined by the Turkish commander Redschid Pasha, Missolonghi, after a protracted and heroic defence, yielded to their united arms, April 22nd, 1826. The Greeks had now exhausted the loan, and their affairs began to look desperate. Canning apprehended that Nicholas might come to an understanding with Mehemet Ali to divide Turkey between them; and these fears were shared by the French and Austrian Cabinets. All that part of Greece not occupied by Ibrahim had fallen under the influence of Kolokotroni, a mere agent of Russia. Lord Cochrane and General Church, who arrived early in 1827 to

assist the Greeks as volunteers, unadvisedly promoted the views of Russia, by aiding, on the recommendation of Kolokotroni, the election of Count Capodistrias as President of Greece. In this state of things was concluded the Treaty of London of July 6th, 1827, which founded the Kingdom of Greece. Prince Metternich did not approve the erection of this State, for fear that religious sympathy might place it under Russian influence; but as the alternative lay between English and Russian views, he adopted the former. He also helped to persuade the French Government to consent to the erection of the Greek Kingdom, to which Charles X. was personally averse; and it was stipulated that the new King should be selected from one of the European dynasties. To this Canning agreed, on condition that the Greeks should be allowed to choose their own Sovereign. This negotiation was the most important act of Canning's short administration as Premier. He had held that office since April, and died in the following August.

The Treaty of London was executed only by the three maritime Powers, England, France, and Russia; and in August the fleets of those countries, under Admirals Codrington, De Rigny, and Heiden, appeared in the Greek waters to support the treaty. In the harbour of NAVARINO lay an Egyptian fleet of fifty-one men-of-war and upwards of forty other ships, which were now blockaded by the allied fleets. In consequence of Ibrahim having violated an armistice which had been agreed upon, as well as to arrest the horrible atrocities which he committed in the adjacent district, the allies entered the harbour and almost totally destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet, October 26th. After the battle, Codrington sailed to Egypt and compelled Mehemet Ali to recall Ibrahim.

Battle of
Navarino,
1827.

The battle of Navarino, an act of doubtful policy on the part of the Western Powers, naturally enraged the Sultan. He declared all treaties at an end; and though he consented to allow the Greeks an amnesty, he altogether rejected the idea of recognizing their independence. The Ambassadors of the three Powers consequently took their departure from Constantinople December 8th. To Russia the Porte gave particular cause of offence by refusing to carry out the stipulations of Akerman, and by an offensive *Firman*, issued December 20th. Nicholas, in consequence, now released from the Persian war by an advantageous peace, declared war

Peace of
Adrianople.

against the Sultan, April 26th, 1828. France and England remained idle spectators of this war, though a French army, under General Maison, was despatched to occupy the Morea. The Russians, under Wittgenstein, crossed the Pruth early in May, captured Brahilo, June 19th, but finding Shumla, the key of the Balkan, impregnable, masked it with a corps of 30,000 men, and proceeded to Varna, which surrendered October 10th. To the west, the Russians, under Wittgenstein, were unsuccessful, and were obliged to recross the Danube. In the following summer, General Diebitsch, having taken Shumla (June 11th), crossed the mountains and appeared before Adrianople, which immediately surrendered, though his force consisted of only 15,000 men. A Russian division had penetrated to Midiah, within 65 miles of the Bosphorus. The Russian army in Asia, under Paskiewitsch, had also been successful; Wellington and Metternich intervened, and the Porte, seeing the inutility of further resistance, signed the PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE, September 14th, 1829. The stipulations of this treaty were little more than a confirmation of those of Bucharest and Akerman, except that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be appointed for life, and no Turks were to reside in those Principalities, nor any Turkish fortresses to be maintained there. Russia restored nearly all her conquests. The passage of the Dardanelles was to be free. The most important article was that by which the Porte acceded to the provisions of the Treaty of London with regard to the Greeks.¹ But two or three years were still to elapse before the final settlement of the Greek Kingdom, during which Capodistrias governed in the interest of Russia. He had, however, to contend with conspiracies and insurrections. The little Greek fleet was burnt by Miaulis, July 30th, 1831, to prevent it being used in the Russian interest, and shortly after Capodistrias was assassinated (October 9th). He was succeeded in the Government by his younger brother Augustine. Meanwhile the Ministers of the five Powers at London were endeavouring to establish the Greek Kingdom. The proffered Crown was declined by Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; but at last King Louis of Bavaria, whose poetical temperament rendered him an enthusiastic Philhellenist, accepted it for his younger son Otho, May 7th,

King Otho
in Greece.

¹ Martens, *Nouv. Recueil*, t. viii. p. 143 sqq.

1832. The distinguished Hellenist and Homeric scholar, Thiersch, had visited Greece in the preceding year, and warped, perhaps, by his favourite studies, as well as by his own amiable temper, had beheld everything in a favourable light. The National Assembly of the Greeks recognized Otho for their King, August 8th, and a Provisional Government of Bavarian Ministers was appointed till he should take possession of the throne. Otho landed at Nauplia, February 5th, 1833; but it was not till June 1st, 1835, that he took the Government into his own hands, when he removed his residence to Athens. In the interval, the Bavarian Government had had to contend with many difficulties and insurrections, which continued under the new King.

M. de Martignac, and the Liberal French Ministry which had assisted the Greek cause, had been dismissed before the Peace of Adrianople. M. de Martignac had never enjoyed the King's confidence. On July 30th, 1829, the Chambers were dissolved, and a few days after the Ministry received their dismissal. Nothing could be more impolitic than the choice of their successors. Prince Jules de Polignac, a most unpopular person, who had been bred up in the bosom of the Royal family, and shared in its exile, was now appointed head of the Ministry. The selection of his colleagues was still worse. M. Labourdonnaye, detested for the harshness and severity of his character, received the portfolio of the Interior, but soon resigned. The most injudicious appointment of all was that of General Bourmont, as Minister at War, one of the leaders in the war of La Vendée, a man of great political as well as military talent, but hated and contemned by the nation for his desertion to the allies just before the battle of Waterloo. The installation of this Ministry was hailed with a universal shout of disapprobation. The journalists, among whom may be named Guizot, Thiers, and Benjamin Constant, assailed the Government in the most unmeasured terms. Alarming symptoms appeared in the provinces. A union to resist all unconstitutional taxes began in Brittany, and soon spread throughout France. The revolutionary society called *Aide-toi* was instituted, and Lafayette began to agitate in several of the provincial towns, especially Lyons, where he was received with tumultuous applause.

The Chambers were reopened March 2nd, 1830. The King, in his opening speech, expressed his determination to

Change of
Ministry in
France.

maintain the privileges of the Crown, and to repress all attempts to overthrow them. In this assembly appeared M. Guizot, as leader of the party called, from their somewhat pedantic constitutional system, the *Doctrinaires*. The Chamber of Deputies complained, in an address to the throne, of the Government's want of confidence in the people. Symptoms of opposition were also displayed in the Chamber of Peers, where Chateaubriand thundered against the Ministry, and even the Duke of Fitz-James, who, though a favourite of the King's, was an enemy of Polignac's. Montbel, one of the Ministers, advised the King to dissolve the Chambers, and appeal to the people by a manifesto; though the majority of the Ministry counselled moderation. It was thought that some popularity might be gained by an expedition against Algiers, which piratical state, under the Dey Hussein Bey, had infested the commerce of France, plundered her settlements, insulted her Consul, and fired on the ship of an officer sent to demand redress. But the British Government was opposed to the expedition; a large English fleet was despatched into the Mediterranean, and it became necessary for the French to obtain the consent of England to the enterprise. This circumstance, as well as the appointment of General Bourmont to the command of the expedition, deprived it of all merit in the eyes of the nation. The fleet was to sail from Toulon, May 16th; on that day the Chambers were dissolved, and the new ones were to meet early in August. At the same time a partial change was made in the Ministry. But the expedition was not so successful as had been hoped. It was detained by storms, and at the outset two brigs fell into the hands of the Algerines. This was all the news that arrived during the elections, in which the society *Aide-toi*, and the *Comité directeur*, under Lafayette, busied themselves against the Crown. The result was that a Chamber was returned still more hostile to the Government than the former one. When the elections were completed, news arrived that Algiers had capitulated, July 4th; a victory, however, which, though announced with great pomp, had no effect whatever on the nation. A grand *Te Deum* was appointed to be performed, and Bourmont was made a Marshal of France; but the people flocked to the Palais Royal, to pay their homage to the Duke of Orleans. It became evident that either the Chambers or the King must fall. Under these circumstances the King and

Government resolved on a *coup d'état*. The 14th Article of the Charter provided that the King might issue ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the State. Availing themselves of this Article, the French Ministers published, July 25th, the celebrated and fatal ordinances of St. Cloud, by which the freedom of the press was suspended, a number of Liberal journals suppressed, the law of election altered, by diminishing the number of electors and raising the qualification; the Chambers, which had not yet met, were again dissolved, and new Chambers appointed to meet, September 28th. Further ordinances named a considerable number of councillors of State, selected from the ultra-Royalist party. Yet these violent measures had been adopted without taking the necessary military precautions to insure their success. The troops in Paris numbered not 12,000 men, and these had been placed under the command of Marmont, who was unpopular with the army.

Ordinances
of July.

The ordinances appeared in the *Moniteur*, July 26th. The tumult and agitation in Paris were extreme. Groups assembled in the streets; daily labour was suspended; all master printers or manufacturers, of Liberal politics, closed their workshops, as if by common accord. In the evening the windows of Prince Polignac's hotel were broken by the mob. On the following day a protest against the ordinances appeared in nearly all the Liberal journals. It was now that M. Thiers first prominently appeared, who was to rise from the calling of a journalist to one of the first offices of the State. The *gens d'armes*, who were directed to destroy the presses of the Liberal newspapers, met with a determined resistance at the office of the *Temps*, and could with difficulty find a locksmith to open the doors. Collisions occurred between the mob and the *gens d'armes*, and the more timid citizens closed their shops. It was between five and six o'clock in the evening before the troops appeared; but the sight of them only increased the rage of the people, who began to assail them with stones, tiles, and other missiles. Meanwhile the Liberal deputies having assembled at the house of Casimir Périer, drew up a protest denying the King's right to dismiss Chambers which had not yet met, and declaring all new elections under the ordinances illegal. The night was spent in arming. It was arranged that the disbanded National Guard should reappear in uniform on the following day, and thus give the

Riots in
Paris.

insurrection an appearance of legality. The pupils of the Polytechnic School mingled with the people, and Lafayette arrived in Paris from the country.

While these things were going on the Ministers had assembled at Prince Polignac's, and had resolved to declare Paris in a state of siege, to send for troops from the provinces, and to arrest the Deputies who had signed the protest. But they were not strong enough to carry out these measures. Marmont had not disposed even the few troops he had so as effectively to hinder the operations of the people. The King, at this critical juncture, had gone to hunt at Rambouillet!

Success of
the Mob.

On the 28th the men of the Faubourg St. Antoine, interspersed with a few National Guards, took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and hoisted on the roof the three-coloured flag, which was also displayed in most of the streets. Marmont, who had expressed his disapprobation of the ordinances, and had undertaken the command unwillingly, wrote to the King, advising him to negotiate; but Charles, instead of either dismissing him or following his advice, ordered him to resist. Marmont now directed two columns against the Hôtel de Ville; but many of the soldiers began to fraternize with the mob, and only the Swiss Guards did their duty. The Liberal Deputies having assembled at the house of Audry de Puyravaux, debated whether they should turn the revolt into a revolution. Puyravaux himself, supported by Lafayette, Lafitte, and others, was for that course; while Casimir Périer, General Sebastiani, and Guizot advocated constitutional measures and another protest. At length it was resolved to send a deputation, headed by Lafitte and Arago, to Marmont, to require that all further effusion of blood should be arrested. Marmont now again advised the King to yield. But Charles would make no concessions, and Marmont was directed to concentrate his troops in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries. Reinforcements were anxiously expected. But the line of telegraphs had been intercepted, and the messages despatched to St. Omer and Lunéville to bring up troops by forced marches came too late. On July 29th the people had obtained possession of all Paris, except the quarter of the Tuileries, where Marmont maintained his ground, but not without considerable bloodshed. Lafayette having, at the request of the Deputies, assumed the command of the National Guard, fixed his quarters at the Hôtel de Ville, whence he issued a proclamation calling on the people to

achieve their liberty or die. On the evening of the 29th the people succeeded in getting possession of the Tuileries, and were thus entirely masters of the metropolis. They acted for the most part with moderation and forbearance, though they plundered the Archbishop's palace. The number of the slain seems to have been about 700.

Consternation reigned among the courtiers at St. Cloud. As happens in such conjunctures, advice of the most various kinds was tendered to the King. Most were for making concessions. Many gave up the King for lost, and thought only of saving the dynasty by proclaiming the Duke of Bordeaux and a regency. All seemed to have lost their heads, except Guernon de Ranville. That Minister had at first advised moderation; now he dissuaded from all concession, because it was too late. The only course, for the King, he contended, was to fly to some loyal province, to rally round him what troops remained faithful, as well as a loyal Chamber. He might then negotiate with success, which at present, after his troops had been beaten, was impossible. But this sensible advice was supported only by the Duke of Angoulême. Charles yielded to the advocates of concession. Polignac was dismissed, and the Duke de Mortemar, who had served in the army of Napoleon, and had lately represented France at the Court of St. Petersburg, was appointed in his place. Mortemar, in conjunction with Vitrolles and D'Argout, proceeded to draw up some new ordinances, in which a few necessary concessions were made; and he appointed Casimir Périer to the finances, and General Gérard, Minister at War. Charles, who, after a hand at whist, had gone to bed and to sleep, was awakened, and after some little hesitation signed these concessions, with which De Sémonville, Vitrolles, and D'Argout hastened to Paris.

The Court.

On the morning of the 31st what was called a *Municipal Commission* was instituted and installed at the Hôtel de Ville, to watch over the public safety. Its members were Lafayette, Casimir Périer, Lafitte, Gérard, Puyravaux, Lobau, Von Schonen, and Mangin. The Commission proceeded to name some Ministers: Odillon Barrot as General Secretary, Gérard as Commander of the Forces, Lafayette as Commandant of the National Guard. The authority of the new board was universally recognized. In fact, the revolution seemed to be accomplished, as nearly all the troops of the line had joined

Municipal
Commis-
sion.

the people, while the guards had retired to St. Cloud. Such was the state of things at Paris when De Sémonville arrived to announce the withdrawal of the unpopular ordinances and the appointment of a new Ministry. The Municipal Commission refused to listen to him; Von Schonen coldly observed, "It is too late; the throne has fallen in blood." De Sémonville, after the failure of a similar attempt with the Deputies at the house of Lafitte, returned in despair to St. Cloud to relate his ill success. Mortemar now proceeded to Paris to try what he could do with the more moderate party; but having equally failed, he vanished, to reappear a few days after in the ante-chamber of the Duke of Orleans.

Louis Philippe had apparently taken no part in the movement. He had spent the whole summer at his seat at Neuilly in the bosom of his numerous family; but in this retirement he had been secretly making a party, among whom may be named Talleyrand, Lafitte, and Thiers. These men persuaded the Deputies that they could not do better than raise Louis Philippe to the throne. The Parisian populace, who had long looked upon him as their friend, would offer no opposition; Talleyrand, who enjoyed a great reputation in the Courts of Europe, would reconcile them to the change of dynasty; the *bourgeoisie* of the National Guard, with their leader Lafayette, would acquiesce. Of the two parties from whom opposition might be expected, the Royalists had been conquered, while the Bonapartists and Republicans knew not how to use their sudden and unexpected victory. A proclamation, drawn up by Thiers, was posted on the walls of Paris, recommending the Duke of Orleans, who had fought at Jemmappes, as the "Citizen King." The Deputies having met in the Palais Bourbon, signed a paper requesting the Duke of Orleans to undertake the government of the kingdom, with the title of Lieutenant-General, and to uphold the three-coloured flag till the Chambers should have fully assured the realization of the Charter.

Louis
Philippe,
Lieutenant-
General.

The Duke of Orleans entered Paris on foot, July 30th, like a private gentleman. His first care was to see Talleyrand. He had no doubts about the Parisians. His only anxiety was how foreign Governments might regard the revolution; and when Talleyrand had satisfied him on this point, he no longer hesitated. He sent the same night for the Duke of Mortemar, who undertook to carry to the King a letter in which Louis

Philippe still spoke of his fidelity! Charles was deceived by it. So little did he imagine that the Duke of Orleans would betray him, that on July 31st he named that Prince by a formal patent Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and requested him in a letter to maintain the rights of the Crown. The Duke now published a proclamation concluding with the words: "In future a charter will be a truth." The Deputies also made a separate proclamation, in which they pledged themselves to procure the legal establishment of certain rights which they specified. In order to obtain the support of the Municipal Commission, the Duke of Orleans proceeded, at the head of the Deputies, to the Hôtel de Ville. He won Lafayette's heart by exclaiming: "You see, gentlemen, an old National Guard, who is come to visit his former general." An agreement was speedily concluded in the brief phrase, "A popular throne with republican institutions." Lafayette then embraced the Duke, and, conducting him to the balcony, placed him under a three-coloured flag, as the man of the people.

The new Lieutenant-General now proceeded to name a Ministry selected from all parties, except the Royalists. Among them were Dupont de l'Eure, who inclined to the Republicans; Guizot, the representative of the *Doctrinaires*; Lafitte, Louis Philippe's confidant; Baron Louis, the favourite of Talleyrand; Bignon, a Bonapartist; the Duke de Broglie, to show the aristocrats that they would not be excluded from the new régime; General Gérard, and Admiral Rigny. Thus was completed the "Revolution of July," called also the *Grande Semaine*, and from the superior importance of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, the "Three Days."

The new
Ministry.

On July 31st Charles X. quitted St. Cloud for Trianon. During this short march he was deserted by some of his guards. At Trianon, De Ranville repeated his advice to the King to fly to Tours, and assemble a Chamber in that city. But Charles still relied on the Duke of Orleans, and was for waiting till he should hear from him. The anxiety of the Duchess of Berri was, however, so great that she induced the King to proceed on the following day to Rambouillet, where they were joined by the Duchess of Angoulême. The soldiers now began to desert in troops. A letter having at length arrived from the Duke of Orleans, purporting that the King had become too unpopular to retain the Crown, Charles published an ordinance announcing his abdication in favour of his

Abdication
of Charles
X., 1830.

Charles X.
retires to
England.

grandson the Duke of Bordeaux, whom he proclaimed as Henry V., and calling on the Lieutenant-General to conduct the Regency in the name of the young King (August 2nd).

But Louis Philippe had other views. In his speech to the Chambers, though he announced the abdication of the King, and the Dauphin's renunciation of his rights to the throne, he forebore to mention that these things had been done in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux. He refused to receive any communications from the King, and repulsed all who came to him on the King's behalf. He saw that he could reckon on the majority of the Parisians. Advocates for a Republic could be found only among some of the lowest class. The middle classes would not hear of it, though at the same time they saw that the old line of the Bourbons could not remain. Louis Philippe now began to take measures for driving Charles and his family from France. Marshal Maison, Odillon Barrot, and Von Schonen were sent, as if officially, and by order of the Lieutenant-General and the Deputies, to accompany the King over the frontier. On their arrival at Rambouillet they found the King asleep; but Marmont told them that, for such a step, it was necessary to have a written order from the Duke of Orleans, and the Commissioners hastened back to Paris to procure one. The Duke displayed excitement and displeasure at their return, exclaiming, "He must go! he must go!" It was determined to effect the King's expulsion by means of the Parisian mob. Before break of day an insurrection was organized; the word was given "to Rambouillet!" and arms were distributed to the people, who were to march thither and compel the unfortunate King and his family to fly. Marshal Maison, who with his fellow Commissioners had driven back to Rambouillet, told Charles that the people of Paris were marching against him. When the truth at last stared the old King in the face he gave vent to such an ebullition of rage that Maison was glad to hasten from his presence. But 60,000 men were marching on Rambouillet; and Charles, having no means of resistance, at length consented to go into exile. The Commissioners gave him a military escort to Cherbourg, where he embarked for England. Nothing could exceed the respect with which the unfortunate monarch was treated during this journey by all ranks of the people. In England, the royal fugitives were at first received at Lulworth castle, in Dorsetshire, and subsequently took up

their abode, for the second time, at the palace of Holyrood, at Edinburgh, which had been placed at their disposal by the English Government. Great Britain was now ruled by William IV.; his brother, George IV., having expired, after a long illness, June 26th, 1830.

CHAPTER LXIX

LOUIS PHILIPPE AND EUROPE

Louis
Philippe
King of the
French.

LOUIS PHILIPPE opened the French Legislature August 3rd. The Chamber of Deputies drew up a Declaration in which the throne was announced to be vacant, through the abdication of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the principles were announced on which the new reign was to be conducted. Many alterations and additions were made in the existing Charter; of which the following are the most important:—The Roman Catholic Religion was to be no longer the dominant one, but all confessions were put on an equal footing: the censorship was abolished, and unconditional freedom of the press established: the King was to have no power to suspend a law, nor to appoint Special Commissioners in order to supersede the usual tribunals: no foreigners were to be admitted into the French military service: every Frenchman of the age of twenty-five to be an elector, and at the age of thirty capable of being elected a Deputy: the Peers named by Charles X. were abolished, and the sittings of that Chamber were to be public: the Chambers, as well as the King, to have the privilege of proposing laws: the King to be called "King of the French:" and the three-coloured flag to be substituted for the white one (August 7th, 1830).¹

The Chamber of Deputies, under the presidency of Lafitte, chose the Duke of Orleans for King by 219 votes against 33; 39 members abstained from voting. When Lafitte and the Deputies proceeded to the Palais Royal to announce their decision Louis Philippe affected to complain that it was highly disagreeable to him to be withdrawn from domestic life, but, from love to his country, he would make the required sacrifice. Then, supported by Lafitte and Lafayette, he showed himself

¹ See Hillebrand, *Geschichte Frankreichs*, and Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral*.

in the balcony of his palace, and was received by the people with cries of *Vive le Roi!* In these proceedings the Chamber of Peers was not consulted. Chateaubriand was the only Peer who had the courage to maintain the rights of the Duke of Bordeaux; but he was supported by only nineteen of his colleagues.

The new King was enthroned, August 9th, at the Palais Bourbon, where the Deputies held their sittings. Casimir Périer having read the Declaration of August 7th, and Baron Pasquier the accession to it of the Peers, the Duke of Orleans took an oath to observe it, and ascended the throne as Louis Philippe, amid the acclamations of the Assembly. The new King applied himself to acquire popularity among the Parisians by displaying himself as a "Citizen King." Anybody and everybody was admitted to his presence in pantaloons and boots; he appeared in the streets on foot, in a great coat and round hat, with the proverbial umbrella under his arm, and shook hands familiarly with the people. The church of St. Geneviève became once more the Pantheon, and Voltaire and Rousseau were again adored. Louis Philippe displayed his prudence by relinquishing to his children, on the day of his accession, all the estates of the House of Orleans, so that they became private property, and could not be forfeited with the Crown. France, as usual, acquiesced in the proceedings of the capital; though there were some slight disturbances at Nîmes and in La Vendée.

The Citizen King.

The news of the French Revolution ran through Europe like an electric shock, firing all the elements of discontent in various countries. Belgium, unwillingly united to Holland by the policy of the Allies to encircle France with powerful States, first felt the explosion. Many were the elements of discord between those two countries. They spoke different languages, had different customs and manners, and opposite commercial interests. The Dutch were rigid Calvinists, the Belgians bigoted Catholics; and hence the two peoples felt for each other all the bitterness of religious hate. In this state of things a desire had sprung up in Belgium for a union with France, where, under the reign of Charles X., the Catholic Church again flourished. The Belgians also complained that they were saddled with part of the burden of the enormous national debt of Holland, that they contributed to the building of Dutch ships, the maintenance of Dutch dykes, and other

Disturbances in Belgium.

objects, from which they derived no benefit whatever. Their discontent was increased by the unpopular Government of King William I., who treated Belgium like a conquered country.

Riots at
Brussels.

Already before the breaking out of the French Revolution symptoms of insurrection had appeared at Brussels, on occasion of the prosecution of De Potter, a political writer, towards the end of 1828. A serious riot had also occurred at the Catholic College of Louvain, in February, 1830. After the disturbances in France William I. thought it prudent to make some concessions to the Belgians, but they failed to give satisfaction. On the night of August 25th the revolt broke out at Brussels. The opera of the *Muette de Portici*, which turns on the revolt of Masaniello, was represented that evening, the incidents of which were vociferously applauded. After the performance the mob broke into, plundered, and even burnt the houses of some of the more unpopular Ministers, the chief of whom was Van Maanen. Next day the old Brabant colours, red, orange, and black, were hoisted on the Town House. The troops were now called out, but having no orders, did not act with decision, and were driven back into their barracks. From this period the insurrection ran its natural course almost without opposition. A burgher-guard was formed, and succeeded in keeping down the mob, but not without some bloodshed. On the 28th of August forty of the principal inhabitants of Brussels assembled, and having chosen Baron Secus as their President, and the advocate Van de Weyer as Secretary, despatched a deputation to the Hague, to request the King to make the concessions which had been so long desired. But William I. was not disposed to give way. He employed his eldest son to soothe the people with promises, whilst his brother, Prince Frederick, assembled at Vilvorde as many troops as possible. On the 31st the two Princes required the burgher-guard of Brussels to strike the national colours, and restore the custody of the city to the King's troops. This demand increased the prevailing irritation. The example of the capital had spread into the provinces. At Verviers dreadful excesses were committed, and many labourers repaired to Brussels, to settle the question in the capital. On the night of September 1st barricades were thrown up in the streets to prevent the entrance of troops. The Prince of Orange now came to Brussels alone, stepped into the midst of

the armed masses, and promised that a Commission should be immediately appointed, to consult with himself about the measures to be adopted. But this proceeding gave no satisfaction, and a proclamation issued by the Commission was publicly burnt. The Prince now proposed a legislative and administrative separation of Belgium from Holland; in short, merely a union under the same crown. This concession appeared to give universal satisfaction; it was even supported by the people of Amsterdam; but the King would decide nothing till the meeting of the States-General, which were to assemble at the Hague, September 13th. But when the States met nothing was done. The King even recalled Van Maanen, who had been dismissed, and the Belgians began to suspect that they had been deceived.

The revolt now assumed a more democratic and violent form. The impulse came from Liège. On September 15th the Liégeois rose, and after dispersing the burgher-guard, drove out the King's troops. The boldest of these insurgents then proceeded to Brussels, where they led an attack on the Dutch troops. On September 20th they headed the people in disarming the National Guard; after which all the depôts of arms were seized, the public buildings occupied, the public boards cashiered, and a Provisional Government was established, of which De Potter, who was then at Paris, was appointed the head. On September 23rd Prince Frederick attacked Brussels with 6,000 or 7,000 men; but though he penetrated into the town and occupied the upper part of it, as the Rue Royale, the Park, etc., he found that he was not strong enough to maintain those positions, and on the night of the 26th he was compelled to retire.

Open
revolt

In these and the following days the Dutch troops were driven from most of the towns of Belgium, while the Belgian soldiery declared for the national cause. Antwerp, Maestricht, Mechlin, Dendermonde, and the citadel of Ghent alone remained in the hands of the Dutch. Now, when it was too late, the States-General at the Hague sanctioned by a large majority the legislative and administrative separation of Holland and Belgium, September 29th. But the victorious Belgians refused to listen to any terms. De Potter had arrived in Brussels, and assumed the direction of the Provisional Government, which on October 5th proclaimed the independence of Belgium, appointed a Commission to draw up a Constitution,

Belgium
proclaimed
independ-
ent, 1830.

convoked a National Congress at Brussels, and annulled whatever the Belgian Deputies had done in the States-General at the Hague without the knowledge of the Provisional Government. On the 9th the House of Orange-Nassau was declared to have forfeited, by its late proceedings, all its claims on Belgium; and the Prince of Orange, who had proclaimed himself the head of the separated Belgian administration, was pronounced to have no right to the Regency, unless he should be elected by the National Congress. In the elections for that assembly, however, the moderate party prevailed; even De Potter himself was not returned; and the Prince of Orange, encouraged by this circumstance, issued another proclamation, October 16th, in which, as if resolved to carry out the revolution in spite of his father, he recognized the independence of Belgium, and, as he expressed it, "placed himself at the head of the movement." But the Provisional Government answered this appeal by recommending him to interfere no further in their affairs.

Congress in
London.

It was the wish of the Belgian liberals to be united to France. But such a union was displeasing to the European Powers; and Louis Philippe, whose own usurpation was hardly yet consolidated, ventured not to offend them by encouraging the Belgian revolution. He procured the recognition of some of the Powers by engaging neither to suffer a republic in Belgium nor to unite that country with France; a proposition which had been made to him by the Belgians through Gendebien. But at the same time he bade the Great Powers remark that they must abstain from undertaking anything against Belgian independence, or that he should not be able to restrain the public opinion of France. Russia was at first inclined to support King William; but all at length concurred in the views of Louis Philippe, and the principle of non-intervention was for the first time unanimously recognized. A conference of ministers, with regard to Belgian affairs, was opened at London, November 4th, composed of Talleyrand, Lord Aberdeen, Prince Esterhazy, Von Bülow, and Count Mutusze-witsch.

Belgian In-
dependence
recognized
by the Five
Powers,
1830.

The London Congress recognized the INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM, December 30th. This act, and the recognition of Louis Philippe, were the first blows struck at the principle of legitimacy asserted by the Holy Alliance, and maintained at all preceding conferences since the Congress of Vienna. In

both these acts Great Britain took the lead. The Belgian National Congress, which had been opened at Brussels November 10th, determined that it must proceed hand in hand with the Congress in London. But William I. was not inclined to relinquish what he could hold; consequently the war went on, and while the Congresses were sitting several battles occurred in the neighbourhood of Maestricht and in the Duchy of Luxembourg. The London Congress assigned to Holland the limits which it had possessed in 1790, with the addition of Luxembourg, and it imposed upon Belgium part of the Dutch debt. With this arrangement King William declared himself satisfied; but the Brussels Congress protested against it, February 1st, 1831; and William, therefore, continued to retain possession of Antwerp.

The Belgian Congress voted a new Constitution February 7th, which was to consist of a king and two representative chambers. The choice of a sovereign occasioned some difficulty. Among the candidates named were the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Nemours, and the Duke of Leuchtenberg. The London Conference proposed Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who was at length accepted by the Brussels Congress, June 4th, 1831. Leopold made his solemn entry into Brussels, July 21st, and took the oath to the new Constitution. But he was not to enjoy his new dignity without dispute. King William had silently collected a large army, with which the Prince of Orange suddenly entered Belgium while Leopold was absent on a tour in the provinces. The Belgian Provisional Government, confident that the great Powers would not suffer the armistice to be broken, had neglected the army, and the mob who had been victorious in the towns were no match for disciplined troops in the open field. The Prince of Orange proclaimed that he came not to conquer Belgium, but only to obtain more advantageous conditions. Advancing upon Liège, he defeated the Belgians under General Niellon at Turnhout, August 3rd, and on the 8th overthrew, near Hasselt, General Daine and the larger portion of the Belgian army. A Dutch division proceeded to Antwerp to reinforce General Chassé, repulsed the Belgians under General Tiecke, in whose camp Leopold was, and, breaking down the dykes, laid a large portion of Flanders under water. Duke Bernhardt of Saxe-Weimar, whom King William had appointed Governor of Luxembourg, now threw himself between

Leopold I.
King of
Belgium.

Attack by
Holland.

Louvain and Brussels, thus cutting off Leopold from his capital, while the Prince of Orange was advancing against him with superior forces. The two rivals met at Tirlemont, August 11th. A great part of Leopold's army was composed of men in blouses, who fled at the first onset. A few companies of the Brussels National Guard ventured to oppose the Dutch, but were too weak, and the whole army fled in disorder to Louvain. That place surrendered at the first summons of the Dutch, but Leopold escaped to Mechlin.

The English
and French
and Leo-
pold.

Meanwhile a French army of 50,000 men, under Marshal Gérard, who was accompanied by Louis Philippe's two eldest sons, entered Belgium, to which step Talleyrand had obtained the consent of the English Ministry. An English fleet under Admiral Codrington also appeared in the Scheldt. Béliard and Adair, the French and English negociators, proceeded to the Dutch camp, when the Prince of Orange consented to an armistice, and the forces on all sides retired to their former positions, August 12th. The Dutch, by this demonstration, and through Russian influence, succeeded in obtaining more favourable conditions. It was decided that Belgium should cede part of Limburg, as well as Luxembourg, and take upon itself yearly 8,400,000 guilders of the Dutch debt. King William, however, would not consent to the new articles, in the hope that, when the Czar had put down the revolution in Poland, he should be assisted by Russia, as well as by the German Powers. But in this expectation he was disappointed.

Siege of
Antwerp.

In May, 1832, King Leopold proceeded to France, and in an interview with Louis Philippe at Compiègne, obtained the hand of his eldest daughter, Louisa. The marriage was celebrated in the following August, when Leopold assured the Belgians that his children should be educated in the Catholic faith. As the King of the Netherlands had not yet consented to the conditions proposed, an embargo was laid upon Dutch vessels in England, and a French army was set in motion to drive the Dutch from Antwerp. William I. declared that he would yield only to force, and an English fleet under Admiral Malcolm began to blockade the Dutch coast early in November, and about the middle of that month the French laid siege to Antwerp. Chassé made a brave defence, and did not surrender till the citadel was reduced to a heap of rubbish, December 23rd. Even then William refused to accept the capitulation, or to abandon the forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek. At length,

on May 21st, 1833, a preliminary treaty was signed ; but it was not till January 22nd, 1839, that Holland consented, by a definitive treaty, to accept the London Protocol !

The Russian autocrat, the main prop of legitimacy in Europe, found himself called upon to support his own authority at home. At the news of the outbreak in France Nicholas contemplated suppressing it by force, and the Russian officers talked familiarly of a promenade to Paris. But the irritation of the Tsar was somewhat soothed by the elevation of Louis Philippe to a constitutional throne, and his attention was soon after diverted from the affairs of France by a revolt among his Polish subjects. In 1829 Nicholas had received the crown of Poland at Warsaw. All had then appeared tranquil in that subject kingdom, but the elements of discontent lay festering under the surface. Society still consisted only of a proud and restless nobility and a peasantry of slaves ; nor had the causes of Poland's former misfortunes been removed by the Constitution given to it by the Emperor Alexander after the model of the French Charter. The misery of the Poles was increased by the harshness of the Grand Duke Constantine's government, who ruled like a Tartar Prince, though he was suspected of being destitute of physical as well as moral courage. The Revolution, which, like the rest in Europe about this time, had its first impulse from the dethronement of Charles X. in France, began by a conspiracy of some young Polish students and subalterns to seize Constantine at the Belvedere, a residence of the Prince's in the vicinity of Warsaw ; when it was expected that the Polish troops in that city, who numbered 10,000 men, would rise and drive out the Russian garrison of 7,000. The execution of this plan was prematurely hastened by a suspicion that it had been discovered, since the national troops had been withdrawn from Galicia and the Grand Duchy of Posen, and their place supplied by Austrians and Prussians. In the dusk of evening, on November 29th, 1830, twenty young men proceeded to the Belvedere, where they killed General Gendre and the Vice-president Lubowski ; but Constantine escaped by concealing himself in a garret. Meanwhile the citizens of Warsaw had risen *en masse*, armed themselves at the arsenal, and seized many of the Russian officers in the theatre : the Polish soldiers had joined the people, and murdered General Stanislaus Potocki, and others of their officers who refused to renounce their allegiance. The defection of the Polish soldiery

Rising in
Poland.

gave great strength to the movement, and the insurrection was now joined by many persons of distinction. After some deliberation it had been resolved to confine the revolt to the Russian provinces of Poland, or Lithuania, Volhynia and Podolia, in order to avoid the hostility of Austria and Prussia. General Chlopicki, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Napoleon, assumed the chief command, and eventually a sort of absolute dictatorship. He was supported, among others, by Prince Lubecki, Professor Lelewel, Count Ostrowski, and Prince Adam Czartoryski. The last, a descendant of the ancient Princes of Lithuania, and related to the Russian Imperial Family, had been a favourite of the Emperor Alexander and the Poles, in case of success, had marked him out for their future King. Constantine retired with the troops which remained faithful to him to a village within a mile or two of Warsaw. Here he permitted the Polish part of his force to join, if they wished, their brethren in Warsaw, and with only 6,000 Russians retreated towards Volhynia. He had referred to the Imperial Court a deputation which waited upon him with a statement of their claims and grievances; but Nicholas would hear of nothing but unconditional submission, and early in 1831, a large Russian army, commanded by Diebitsch, prepared to reduce the Poles to obedience. At the command of the Emperor, Chlopicki laid down his dictatorship in January; but the Poles headed by Czartoryski, pursued the insurrection more vigorously than ever. Prince Radzivil was now appointed commander-in-chief of their forces in place of Chlopicki. Diebitsch, having issued a proclamation which left the Poles no choice between slavish submission or destruction, the Diet declared, January 25th, that Nicholas had forfeited the Polish crown; and they prepared to support their resolution by all the means in their power. The army was raised to between 50,000 and 60,000 men; but a great portion of them was armed only with scythes. Negotiations were entered into with foreign Powers; and in order to conciliate them, it was resolved, February 3rd, that Poland should be governed by a constitutional monarchy. But the Poles were disappointed in their hopes of foreign support. Austria and Prussia assured the Tsar that they would not countenance the rebellion, and that they would join their arms with his if it extended to their own Provinces. Austria, however, from dread of Russia, would willingly have seen an independent Polish Kingdom,

and offered to sacrifice Galicia for that purpose, provided a King should be chosen from the House of Austria, and France and England should concur. Lord Palmerston, however, declined, and was followed by France. Louis Philippe only used the Polish insurrection to induce Nicholas to recognize his own accession and the independence of Belgium, while England and Austria afforded the Poles no substantial aid.

Diebitsch, who had collected an army of 114,000 men, with 336 guns, at Bialystok and Grodno, crossed the Polish frontier February 5th. We cannot enter into the details of the insurrectionary war. The campaign was marked by several desperate battles fought with varying success; but at length the Poles, though aided by insurrections in Podolia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania, were compelled to yield, after an heroic defence, to superior numbers and discipline. The cholera had ravaged the armies of both sides. Diebitsch died of it June 10th, and a few weeks afterwards the Grand Duke Constantine, at Witebsk. Warsaw surrendered September 8th, to Paskiewitsch, who had succeeded Diebitsch in the command, and on the 28th of the same month, the Russian General Rüdiger entered Cracow. On the approach of the Russians, the mob at Warsaw, like that at Paris on the advance of the Duke of Brunswick, forced their way into the Palace and compelled a change of government, then broke into the state prisons and committed an indiscriminate massacre. The Polish divisions in the provinces were speedily dispersed, and before the end of autumn the insurrection was entirely quelled. Paskiewitsch, who was made Prince and Governor of Warsaw, re-established the Russian regimen. An amnesty was indeed granted November 1st, but with so many exceptions that hardly anybody was safe. Paskiewitsch directed his efforts to abolish the nationality of Poland, and to reduce it as much as possible to a Russian Province. The University of Warsaw was suppressed, the archives, libraries, scientific collections, etc., were removed to St. Petersburg, the Polish uniform and colours were abolished, and the Polish soldiery incorporated in Russian regiments. Prince Radzivil and other leading Poles were relegated to the interior of the Empire, and it is computed that in 1832, 80,000 Poles were sent into Siberia. Polish children were snatched from their parents and carried into what are called the military colonies of Russia; the Roman Catholic Church was persecuted agreeably to the Tsar's Græco-Russian system;

Poland a
Russian
Province.

and on February 26th, 1832, Poland was declared a Russian Province.

Insurrec-
tions in
Germany.

Even the inert mass of the German Confederation was stirred by the French Revolution of 1830. The most characteristic trait of German history at this period is that the so-called constitutions moulded on the French Charter, which had been bestowed on some of the minor States, were established by Russian influence. But Russia had set her face against a Prussian Constitution. The establishment of a *Zollverein*, or customs union, between Bavaria and Würtemberg, subsequently adopted by other German States, seemed a step towards German unity.¹ But the partial revolutions which occurred in Germany in 1830, were more calculated to confirm the ancient state of things than to lead to such a consummation. In Saxony, the old King, Frederick Augustus, had died in May, 1827, and had been succeeded by his brother Anthony. No line of Princes was more bigoted to the old order of things than the House of Wettin; and the circumstance that while the royal family professed the Roman Catholic religion, their subjects were Protestants, augmented the danger of collision. In June, 1830, a few days before the breaking out of the French Revolution, the citizens of Dresden and the University of Leipsic had wished to celebrate the Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession; but the demonstration was suppressed in order not to give offence to the Court. This proceeding occasioned disturbances which had not been quelled when the news of the French Revolution arrived in Saxony. Serious riots ensued both in Leipsic and Dresden, in which latter capital the Council House and police buildings were burnt. In order to allay the storm King Anthony found himself compelled to adopt his son, Frederick Augustus, who was very popular, as co-regent, to dismiss his Minister, Einsiedel, and to make some improvements in the Constitution. Insurrections also broke out in Brunswick, where the tyrannical Duke Charles was deposed in favour of his brother William; and in electoral Hesse, where William II. abdicated in favour of his son, Frederick William. Disturbances likewise occurred in Hesse Darmstadt, Baden, and other minor States, as well as in Switzerland, where reforms were effected in several cantons. Prussia and Austria proper were little affected by the

¹ Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*.

French Revolution of 1830. But it gave an impulse to the awakening nationality of the Hungarians. When in November, 1830, the Emperor Francis caused his son Ferdinand to be crowned King of Hungary, the Diet made much larger demands than it had ever done before: namely, that the Magyar tongue should in future be the official one instead of Latin; that Magyars only should be appointed to commands in Hungarian regiments, etc. The two *Tables*, that is, the upper and lower Houses of the Diet, or the Magnates and the States, now introduced the use of the Magyar language in their debates. In consequence of these proceedings the Diet was not again assembled till 1832, when Louis Kossuth first appeared as the *ablegat*, or proxy of an absent noble.

Kossuth in Hungary.

After the overthrow of Charles X., Mina, Valdez, and hundreds of Spanish liberals who had sought refuge in France, made an irruption into Spain. Louis Philippe at first supported them. He assured Lafayette, who took a great interest in their success, of his favourable views towards them, and even gave him money in support of their cause. But, as in the case of Belgium and Poland, his interest in their success only extended so far as it might affect his own political interests, and he treacherously abandoned them to their fate as soon as Ferdinand VII. acknowledged his dynasty. The Minister Molé had warned the Spanish emigrants of their danger. They were already on the frontier when Louis Philippe sent orders to disarm them. They preferred, however, to enter Spain, but were speedily defeated at every point by superior forces. It was with the greatest difficulty that Mina, after wandering several days in the mountains, succeeded in escaping back to France. Italy was not at this time disturbed, though insurrections, which we shall relate further on, broke out in the following year. Pope Pius VII. had, in 1823, been succeeded by the Cardinal della Genga, an old man of seventy-four, who, as Leo XII., ruled severely and kept down the *Carbonari*. On his death, in 1829, Cardinal Castiglione was elected to the vacant chair as Pope Pius VIII.

Spain.

Italy.

The reign of Louis Philippe, the "Citizen King," was without any fixed principles, and only a continued system of trimming, both in foreign and domestic policy. His first Ministry, chosen from among the party which had triumphed in the "great week," consisted of Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, Gérard, Molé, Guizot, Broglie, Louis, Sébastiani, Casimir

Character of Louis Philippe's reign.

Périer, and Dupin. Bignon, Napoleon's celebrated secretary, had also a place in it, but without a portfolio. Four of Charles X.'s Ministers, Polignac, Peyronnet, Guernon de Ranville, and Chantelauze, had been arrested, and the populace clamoured loudly for their death. They were to be arraigned before the peers at the Luxembourg, December 15th, and the people threatened to enforce their execution. To avert disturbances, the King, under pretence of making preparations against foreign Powers, coloured by a false rumour that Russia and Prussia were to invade France, appointed Marshal Soult Minister-at-War, and directed him to organize a large force. The unpopularity, however, of acting against the people was left in the first instance to the National Guard under Lafayette, who appeared on the side of order, defended the Luxembourg against the attacks of the mob, and captured some 400 of their more turbulent leaders. Lafayette having thus rendered himself unpopular, Louis Philippe found himself strong enough, with the support of Soult, to dismiss him from the command of the National Guard, and at the same time to disband the artillery, who had shown a disposition to fraternize with the mob. Dupont de l'Eure, fearing some similar trick, resigned, and was succeeded as head of the Ministry by Lafitte. The ex-Ministers of Charles X. were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with loss of rank and civil rights.

Dismissal of
Lafayette.

Domestic
Policy of
Louis Phil-
ippe.

Louis Philippe's domestic policy was necessarily in some degree reactionary, because the principles on which he had accepted the throne were untenable. Lafitte was dismissed in March, 1831, and Casimir Périer then became Prime Minister, who immediately caused several noted Republicans to be arrested. In his foreign policy, Louis Philippe endeavoured to acquire a little popularity without risking a breach with the great Powers. Thus in July, 1831, he despatched a naval expedition against Dom Miguel, in order to influence the elections then pending by the *éclat* of an easy victory. But as at the same time Poland was left unaided in the midst of her troubles, this manœuvre deceived nobody. The new Government was at once exposed to the intrigues and insurrections of the Carlists and of the Republicans. Serious riots occurred at Lyons, Grenoble, and other places in the south of France. Republican demonstrations having been made at Paris on the occasion of General Lamarque's

funeral, June 1st, 1832, when barricades were erected and several persons killed, Paris was declared in a state of siege, by the advice, it is said, of M. Thiers. The Polytechnic School was now dissolved, and all suspected persons arrested, including the leaders of the legitimists, Chateaubriand, Fitzjames, and Hyde de Neuville; but these last were speedily liberated. The Duchess of Berri, after attempting an insurrection in Provence in the spring of the year, passed through France to La Vendée, and endeavoured to raise the people in favour of her son the Duke of Bordeaux, or Henry V. Some conflicts ensued between the insurgents and the royal troops; but the contest soon appeared hopeless, and the Duchess retired to Nantes. Here she was betrayed by one Deutz, a German Jew. A daughter was born at Blaye, May 10th, 1833, when she affirmed that Count Luchesi Palli was the husband to whom she had been secretly united. This declaration deprived her of any dangerous influence, and Louis Philippe liberated her, June 8th, when she proceeded to Palermo. In the previous September Charles X. and his family had quitted Holyrood to take up his residence at Prague. This change was attributed to various motives. Some said that Charles was pursued by creditors, others that Metternich wished to have the Duke of Bordeaux as a pledge against the French usurper. Another claimant of the French throne, the Duke de Reichstadt, had been removed by death July 22nd, 1832.

The
Duchess of
Berri.

Fresh insurrections occurred at Lyons in the spring of 1834, which were not suppressed without considerable bloodshed. They were instigated by certain secret political societies, several of the leaders of which were brought to trial in May, 1835, and condemned to imprisonment or transportation. On the 28th of July this year, on the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the July revolution, a diabolical attempt was made on the King's life by a wretch named Fieschi, who from the window of a small house on the Boulevard du Temple, discharged at Louis Philippe, while passing, what was called an "infernal machine," consisting of about a hundred gun-barrels fixed on a frame, and fired simultaneously by means of a train of gunpowder. Fortunately the King escaped unhurt, but great many of his suite were either killed or wounded. Fieschi was arrested and guillotined. This attempt occasioned what were called the "Laws of September," to expedite the pro-

Fieschi's
infernal
machine.

ceedings of the tribunals in cases of rebellion, and to curb the liberty of the press. M. Thiers, now Minister of the Interior, took a principal share in these proceedings, and scrupled not, in spite of the liberal doctrines which he so loudly professed when in opposition, to resort when in office to the most absolute and tyrannical measures. M. Guizot, who was his colleague in the Soult Ministry, was distinguished from his rival by a more honourable and consistent conduct. In the following February M. Thiers became President of the Council and Secretary for Foreign Affairs. But in consequence of his views on the Spanish question his Ministry was dissolved after an existence of about half a year; when Count Molé became President, and M. Guizot was appointed Minister of Public Instruction. In June, 1836, another abortive attempt was made on the King's life by a workman named Alibaud. In the same year Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the future Emperor of the French, undertook his extraordinary and rash conspiracy at Strassburg; but before relating his attempt we will briefly advert to the affairs of Italy, where this Prince had already made himself conspicuous by his participation in revolutionary movements.

Disturbances in Italy.

Symptoms of revolt first showed themselves in the Italian States after the death of Pope Pius VIII. in 1831, and during the conclave which elected Cardinal Capillari to the vacant chair, with the title of Gregory XVI., Francis, Duke of Modena, detested for his absolutism and intolerance, who is thought to have entertained the ambitious project of making himself King of Central Italy, was driven out by his subjects, and a Provisional Government established (February, 1831). Singularly enough, this revolt was led by Menotti, the head of the Modenese police, and a favourite of the Duke. Bologna next felt the shock, where the Papal Pro-legate was in like manner expelled, and a Provisional Government erected. In the same month the Archduchess Maria Louisa, widow of Napoleon, was driven from her Duchy of Parma. Similar scenes occurred at Ferrara, Ancona, and Perugia. Louis Napoleon and Charles Louis Napoleon, the sons of Louis Bonaparte King of Holland, were at this time residing at Florence, whence they corresponded with Menotti, the leader of the Modenese revolution. When the insurrection broke out in the Papal States the two brothers joined the insurgents at Spoleto.

The Advocate Vicini opened at Bologna, February 26th, what was called an Italian National Congress, with the avowed purpose of establishing the unity of Italy; and General Zucchi, who had served under Napoleon, but who had subsequently entered the Austrian service, endeavoured to organize a revolutionary army. But the Austrians put down these attempts with unwonted promptitude. An Austrian army under General Frimont entered the disturbed districts early in March, when the insurgents fled in all directions. After some feeble attempts at resistance, Zucchi was defeated, captured, and thrown into an Austrian dungeon, and the Austrians entered Bologna March 21st. Spoleto capitulated on the 30th, and the insurrection was at an end. The elder of the two sons of Louis Bonaparte died at Forlì, during the riots, March 17th. The younger, Charles Louis Napoleon, escaped disguised as a servant in the retinue of his mother, Hortense, whose anxiety for the safety of her sons had brought her to Spoleto.

Italian
National
Congress.

The Italians relied without any solid grounds on the aid of France. Louis Philippe had no idea of entering into a war with Austria for Italian liberty, though public opinion in France compelled him to some demonstrations on that side. Hence he exhorted the Pope to moderation, and on July 5th Gregory XVI. published an edict promising some reforms in the administration. These, however, did not satisfy the Italian people. They were encouraged by the opinion that the Austrians, who, with the exception of the citadel of Ferrara, had evacuated all the places they had entered, feared the intervention of the French, and the insurrection was resumed. At a meeting held at Bologna it was determined to convoke in that town another National Congress on January 5th, 1832. The Pope assembled his troops at Rimini and Ferrara. The National Guard of Bologna, under General Patuzzi, marched against them, but were defeated after a short combat at Cesena, January 20th. The Papal army, composed in a great part of bandits, had committed such disorders and cruelties, that Cardinal Albani, the Pope's representative, was ashamed to lead them against Bologna; and the Austrians were therefore called in once more. But so great was the clamour of the French liberals at this invasion, that Louis Philippe was compelled to make a demonstration by taking possession of Ancona. The act, however, was almost

Louis
Philippe
and Italy.

immediately disavowed, and on May 2nd the Papal troops were admitted into that place.

Charles
Albert in
Sardinia.

Neither Naples nor Sardinia was disturbed by these occurrences. The old King, Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who after his restoration had assumed the title of "Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies," had died January 4th, 1825, and was succeeded by his son, Francis I. The latter Sovereign died in November, 1830. His son and successor, Ferdinand II., had rendered himself popular by introducing some reforms into the administration, and by liberating political prisoners. In Sardinia, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano, had succeeded to the crown on the death of Charles Felix in April, 1831. The situation of this Prince between Austria, which he feared, and the liberals, whom he had betrayed, was somewhat critical; but on the whole he inclined to the liberal side, where his interests seemed to lie.

Prince
Napoleon at
Strassburg.

After his flight from Italy, Prince Napoleon had for the most part lived with his mother, Queen Hortense, at her château of Arenenberg in the Thurgau. While residing in Switzerland he employed himself in studying the science of artillery in the school of Thun, under the tuition of Dufours. At this period his character seemed to be earnest and thoughtful, though he was not averse to the pleasures of youth. He aspired to a literary reputation, and composed at this time "Political Dreams," "Remarks on the Political and Military Condition of Switzerland," and a "Handbook of the Science of Artillery." The unpopularity which Louis Philippe had incurred suggested to him an attempt on the Crown of France. Hence his abortive conspiracy of Strassburg in 1836; the best excuse for which is, that he merely wished to attract the notice of the world, and to exhibit himself as a leader to those who desired the downfall of Louis Philippe. After some preparations at Strassburg, through Colonel Vaudray and others, he caused himself, on the morning of October 30th, to be proclaimed Emperor, when he was joined by a small portion of the troops. The greater part, however, remained faithful to the King; and the Prince and his fellow conspirators were arrested and conducted to Paris. Louis Philippe was surprised and embarrassed by this strange event; but he immediately dismissed the Prince, thinking that the ridicule which attached to so rash and inconsiderate an enterprise sufficed to render him harmless. Prince Napoleon now pro-

ceeded to America; but alarmed at the illness of his mother, returned to Switzerland the following year by way of England. His Strassburg accomplices were acquitted at the assizes in January, 1837, an event which strengthened the opposition by manifesting the disposition of the people. After the death of Queen Hortense, October 5th, Louis Philippe called upon the Swiss to expel the Prince from their territories, who, however, demurred to comply, as Napoleon had been made an honorary citizen of the Thurgau. But he voluntarily relinquished a privilege which might tell against his claims to the French Crown, declared that he was, and would remain, a Frenchman, and in the autumn of 1838 he took up his residence in London.

The discovery of Louis Philippe's insatiable avarice increased his unpopularity. To his inheritance, the richest in France, he had added all the possessions of Charles X. and Condé; he had entered into partnership with the Rothschilds, and not content with all his wealth, he solicited marriage portions for his children, and even tried to augment them by false representations. Thus on the marriage of the Duke of Nemours to the Princess Victoria of Coburg, early in 1837, Louis Philippe destined for him a million francs besides the domain of Rambouillet; but the Chamber demurred, and it turned out on inquiry that Rambouillet had been valued much too low. Marriage settlements were also procured for the Duke of Orleans, who espoused a Mecklenburg Princess, May 30th, and for the Queen of the Belgians. Towards the end of 1837 the reign of Louis Philippe obtained a little military glory by the conquest of Constantine, taken by storm by General Damremont October 13th. In the winter a naval expedition was despatched to Hayti, which compelled the negro government of that island to pay a compensation of sixty million francs to the expelled planters.

Towards the end of 1838 the leaders of three of the four parties into which the Chamber was divided, namely, Thiers, Guizot, and Odillon Barrot, the respective heads of the *centre gauche*, the *centre droit*, and the *côté gauche*, having formed a coalition, the Molé Ministry was overthrown early in the following year by an adverse address moved and carried by M. Thiers. Louis Philippe now wished Marshal Soult to conduct the Government; but as M. Thiers, whose services the Marshal considered indispensable, appeared to set too

Avarice
of Louis
Philippe.

Ministry of
Thiers, 1840.

much value on them, the arrangements went off, and the Duke of Montebello, son of Marshal Lannes, became Prime Minister. But his hold of power was short. The Republicans of the secret society called *la société des familles*, led by Blanqui and Barbès, succeeded, May 12th, in seizing the Hôtel de Ville, throwing up barricades, etc. They were soon put down; but their attempt induced Soult, ever ready to throw his sword into the scale of danger, to accept the office of Prime Minister. Early in 1840, however, the Government was again overthrown by Thiers on the question of the marriage-settlement of the Duke of Nemours, and Louis Philippe found himself compelled to place that intriguer at the head of the Ministry. M. Guizot was now appointed Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. But the Eastern question, which nearly involved France and England in a war, soon proved fatal to the Ministry of Thiers.¹

The Eastern Question.

Mehemet Ali, not content with the Isle of Candia in reward of his services to the Sultan in Greece, had thrown a covetous eye on Syria. The Porte seemed in no condition to defend that Province, and in the autumn of 1831, Mehemet, under pretence of punishing the Pasha of St. Jean d'Acre for some affronts, despatched thither his son Ibrahim, with an army. Acre did not fall till May 27th, 1832. But Ibrahim had betrayed his real design by occupying a great part of the country. After the capture of Acre he proceeded to take Damascus and Tripoli; and having defeated Hussein Pasha, July 7th, whom the Sultan had despatched against him with a large army, he entered Aleppo and Antioch. The Grand Vizier, Redschid Pasha, who attempted to oppose his progress, was defeated and captured at Konieh, December 21st.

The Sultan Mahmoud II., trembling for Constantinople itself, implored the aid of Russia, as well as of England and France. Nicholas having despatched a fleet to Constantinople, the French also sent one, but only to watch that of Russia. Ibrahim continuing to advance, and Mehemet Ali having refused French mediation, the Sultan had no alternative but to throw himself upon the protection of Russia. In April, 1833, Nicholas sent 5,000 men to Scutari, while another Russian army of 30,000 crossed the Pruth. But an English fleet having appeared and joined the French, the Russians

¹ Mazade, *Monsieur Thiers*.

withdrew, and Mehemet submitted to mediation, by which Syria was assigned to him, to be held as a fief of the Porte. Mahmoud, indignant at being thus treated by the Western Powers, threw himself into the arms of Russia, and by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, July 8th, 1833, agreed not to suffer any but Russian ships to pass the Dardanelles. But on the protest of England and France, the treaty was subsequently modified in favour of those countries in January, 1834.

The Porte, encouraged by England and Russia, attempted in 1839 to recover Syria; but Ibrahim totally defeated the Turkish army at Nisib on the Euphrates, June 24th. Sultan Mahmoud, who had experienced little but misfortune during his reign, died a few days after (June 28th), leaving his empire to his son, Abdul Medjid, then only seventeen years of age, yet already enervated by premature enjoyment. The French now wished the Osmanli sceptre to be transferred to Mehemet Ali, as better qualified than Abdul for the difficult task of maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire; but this proposition was opposed by England as well as Russia. So strong was the opinion of the approaching fall of the House of Osman, that the Capudan Pasha, Achmet Fewzi, carried the Turkish fleet to Alexandria, and placed it at the disposal of Mehemet. The English Ministry now proposed to France to prevent any further extension of Mehemet's power, and to aid the Porte, though not in such a manner as to forward the views of Russia. The French, however, took up the cause of Mehemet, and were for establishing him in the independent possession both of Egypt and Syria. Some warm diplomatic correspondence ensued; till at length England persuaded Russia, Austria, and Prussia to join her in the Treaty of London, July 15th, 1840, by which both Syria and Candia were to be restored to the Porte. A small English and Austrian army was landed in Syria, and being joined by some Turks and Druses, defeated the hitherto victorious army of Ibrahim at Kaleb Medina, October 10th. Acre, bombarded by the English fleet under Admiral Stopford and Admiral Napier, surrendered November 4th, and Mehemet, seeing the impossibility of successful resistance, agreed to the provisions of the London Treaty, November 27th, and restored Candia and Syria, as well as the Turkish fleet, to the Porte. The young Sultan was after this mostly guided

The Policy
of England.

by the counsels of England, ably conducted by Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Redcliffe, her Ambassador at Constantinople.

Louis Napoleon's attempt at Boulogne.

This affair created great indignation in France, and rendered the Thiers Ministry highly unpopular. A rupture with England seemed for some time imminent; but Louis Philippe, as usual, only employed the conjuncture to promote his domestic interests, and under the alarm of a European war, carried the project for the fortification of Paris by a girdle of forts; designed rather to keep down the populace within than to repel an enemy from without. Prince Napoleon had also seized the occasion to make another attempt on the Crown. Landing at Boulogne, August 4th, with a few followers, of whom Count Montholon was the most distinguished, he proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, and named M. Thiers as his Minister. Being repulsed by the troops, he was nearly drowned in his attempt to escape by the upsetting of a boat, but was saved and captured. M. Berryer undertook his defence before the Chamber of Peers; but he was condemned, and sentenced to imprisonment at Ham; where he passed six years, for the most part spent in study and writing.

The body of Napoleon I. taken to Paris.

Another attempt on the King's life by an assassin named Darnès, October 17th, is said to have occasioned the dismissal of M. Thiers on the 29th. That minister had become so unpopular, and the state of French affairs was so discouraging, that a change of ministry was absolutely necessary. Marshal Soult now again became the nominal prime minister, but M. Guizot, to whom was intrusted the portfolio for foreign affairs, exercised supreme influence in the cabinet. The transfer of the remains of Napoleon I. from St. Helena to Paris by the consent of England, served to heal the temporary breach of the *entente cordiale* between England and France. The body arrived at Paris December 15th, 1840, and was entombed with great solemnity at the *Invalides*. But so vivid a resuscitation of Napoleon's memory was not perhaps the discreetest act on the part of Louis Philippe.

The Entente Cordiale.

M. Humann, the minister of finance, having in 1841 caused a new census of the people to be taken, in order to include persons who had hitherto escaped taxation, disturbances broke out in several parts of France, and even in Paris; but the rioters were reduced to order, and M. Guizot proceeded against them with severity. The death of Louis Philippe's eldest son,

the Duke of Orleans, killed by a fall from his carriage, June 13th, 1842, was a severe blow to the new dynasty. The Duke indeed left two sons, Louis Philippe, Count of Paris, and Robert, Duke of Chartres; but the eldest was only in his fourth year, and thus the prospect was opened of a long minority. The main spring of Louis Philippe's policy was the maintenance of peace, and especially the preservation of the *entente cordiale* with England; a policy, however, which he sometimes pushed to a length which irritated the national feelings of the French, and rendered him unpopular. An instance of this sort occurred in the affair of Mr. Pritchard, an English missionary at Tahiti. Mr. Pritchard having been improperly arrested in 1843 by the French captain D'Aubigny, the English Government made peremptory demands for satisfaction, which were granted by the Cabinet of the Tuileries. In so doing they only obeyed the dictates of justice and good sense; but they offended the national vanity of the French and rendered M. Guizot's administration unpopular. In pursuance of the same policy, Louis Philippe in the following year paid a visit to Queen Victoria in England, when he was invested with the Order of the Garter. By these means the reign of Louis Philippe was passed in profound peace with regard to Europe; though the military ardour of the French was at the same time gratified by battles and conquests in Africa. The French succeeded in establishing themselves at Algiers, where, under the auspices of General Bugeaud, a dreadful system of *rassias* was inaugurated, and every sort of cruelty perpetrated on both sides. As Abd-el-Kader, the celebrated leader of the Arabs, supported himself against the French by the aid of the Maroquins, an expedition was undertaken against the Emperor of Morocco, who by the overthrow of his army at the battle of the Isly, August 14th, 1844, was compelled to sue for peace. For this exploit Bugeaud was rewarded with the marshal's bâton. About the same time the Prince de Joinville with the French fleet attacked the town of Mogador, and compelled it to surrender.

The cunning of Louis Philippe sometimes outran his caution. In spite of all his care, the affair of the Spanish marriages in 1846 nearly led to a rupture with Great Britain. But before we relate that transaction it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of Spanish history.

Spanish
History.

After losing his first Sicilian wife, Ferdinand VII. had mar-

Spanish
Pragmatic
Sanction.

ried in 1816 his niece, Maria Isabel Francesca, second daughter of the King of Portugal, while his brother Don Carlos married the third daughter. Maria died in a year or two, and in 1819 Ferdinand married a niece of the King of Saxony, who also died in 1829. By none of these three wives had he any issue. At the age of forty-six, and debilitated in constitution, he married for his fourth wife Maria Christina, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, and sister of the Duchess of Berri, and of Maria Carlotta, married to the Spanish King's youngest brother, Francisco. Three months after this marriage the new Queen appearing to be pregnant, Ferdinand published a *Pragmatic Sanction* abolishing the Salic law, March 29th, 1830. Ferdinand's brothers, Carlos and Francisco, as well as Charles X. of France and Francis I. of the Two Sicilies, brother of the Spanish Queen, protested against this act, which threatened their collateral claims to the throne of Spain. But Ferdinand persisted, and on the 10th of October, 1830, his Queen was delivered of a daughter, Isabella, who was recognized as Princess of the Asturias, or heiress apparent of the throne. Ferdinand having being seized with a severe illness in the autumn of 1832, Don Carlos either extorted from him a revocation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or caused one to be forged. But Maria Christina, who had borne another daughter in the preceding January, declared herself Regent for her daughter Isabella during the King's illness, and sought popularity by some liberal measures. She granted an amnesty to the insurgents who had risen after the French Revolution of July; she re-established the universities, which had been dissolved after the Restoration; and, by the advice of Martinez de la Rosa, she announced a speedy reassembly of the Cortes. Ferdinand unexpectedly recovered, and resumed the reins of government in January, 1833, when he confirmed all that the Queen had done; and Don Carlos, after protesting, withdrew to Don Miguel in Portugal. In pursuance of the more liberal policy inaugurated by Christina, Ferdinand again appointed Zea Bermudez to the ministry, and agreeably to the Queen's promise, reopened the Cortes, July 29th, when that assembly did homage to his daughter Isabella as their future sovereign. Ferdinand VII. did not long survive this event. He was again attacked by his disorder, and expired in dreadful torments, Sept. 29th, 1833.

Death of
Ferdinand
VII., 1833.

Isabella II. was now proclaimed Queen, and her mother

Christina assumed the Regency. The Pragmatic Sanction was recognized by Louis Philippe and by the English Government; but the Northern Powers, as well as the Pope, refused to acknowledge it. Spain itself was divided in opinion and torn by factions. The Liberals and moderate party supported the Queen, and were hence called *Christinos*, while the *Serviles* declared for Don Carlos, and obtained the name of *Carlists*. The *Christinos*, though not at one among themselves, prevailed. In 1834, Zea Bermudez was compelled to resign in favour of the still more liberal Martinez de la Rosa. On the 10th of April the new minister proclaimed the *Estatuto Real*, a constitution modelled by the advice of Louis Philippe. But it was not sufficiently liberal to please the extreme party; warm disputes arose between the *Moderados* and *Progresistas*, and Martinez de la Rosa, to whose embarrassments was added that of civil war, was unable to maintain himself.

Queen
Isabella.

The *Carlists* had raised an insurrection in Biscay in 1833. Their strength lay chiefly in the Basque provinces, which had been injured by the system of centralization adopted by Ferdinand after the French model. The insurrection also spread to other provinces, but not to any great extent. The priest Merino in Old Castile, and Locho in La Mancha, raised some *guerilla* bands. The Basque army, which had gradually increased to 25,000 men, found an excellent leader in Zumalacarragui. Generals Sarsfeld, Valdez, and two or three more in vain attempted to subdue it. Don Carlos, who had been driven from Portugal and taken refuge in England, returned secretly through France, and appearing in Zumalacarragui's camp, June 9th, 1834, was received with acclamation. But he was totally unfit for the enterprise he had undertaken. He surrounded himself with the stiffest etiquette, and he continued to maintain the Apostolic Junta, a former member of which, Father Cirilo, was his most intimate confidant. Spain, like other parts of Europe, was this year visited by the *cholera*, when a hundred monks, suspected of having poisoned the fountains, were murdered in Madrid alone, and many others in various towns. This popular prejudice was manifested in other countries with the same results.

The Carlist
Rebellion.

In 1835 Mina undertook the command of the *Christinos*, but, like his predecessors, was worsted by Zumalacarragui after a sanguinary campaign of five months. Valdez, who resumed

the attempt with 20,000 men, had no better success. These unfortunate campaigns exhausted the troops and money of the Spanish Government, and compelled the Regent to apply to the Western Powers for aid. Louis Philippe pursued in the affairs of Spain his usual double and self-interested policy. He had formed the design of marrying his sons to Christina's daughters, and he courted the friendship of the Spanish Regent and pressed upon her his advice, yet without taking so decided a part in her affairs as might excite the hostility of the Northern Powers. In like manner he went hand in hand with England in opposing *Carlism*, but so as not to give too much strength to the *Progresistas*. It was not till the summer of 1835, after the unlooked-for resistance of the Basques, that Louis Philippe prepared to give Christina any active assistance, agreeably to the Quadruple Alliance formed in the preceding year. But as that alliance had reference primarily to the affairs of Portugal, we must here briefly resume the history of that country.

Death of
John VI. of
Portugal,
1826.

After the banishment of Dom Miguel, before recorded, Portugal remained tranquil till the death of the weak but well-meaning King John VI., March 10th, 1826. As Don Pedro, his eldest son, now Emperor of Brazil, was precluded by the constitution of that country from assuming the crown of Portugal, he transferred it to his youthful daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, while Dom Miguel, John's second son, asserted his claim as the only legitimate male heir. The question of the succession, therefore, was somewhat analogous to that which subsequently arose in Spain, turning on the claims of a direct female and collateral male heir. Both pretenders to the crown were absent, and public opinion in Portugal was very much divided. The Liberals, led by Count Villafior, and composed for the most part of the educated and commercial classes and a portion of the army, were for Donna Maria, while the Serviles, as they were called, with the Marquis de Chaves at their head, comprising the clergy, the peasantry, and the remainder of the troops, espoused the cause of Dom Miguel. The adverse parties had already come to blows, when the arrival of 6,000 English soldiers in the Tagus in December, despatched by Canning, decided the question in favour of Donna Maria. The Serviles now submitted, Queen Maria was acknowledged, and Donna Isabella, the young Queen's aunt, was placed at the head of the Regency. The Cortes being as-

Donna
Maria
succeeds.

sembled, January 2nd, 1828, accepted the charter of a constitution drawn up by Don Pedro on liberal principles.

These proceedings were highly displeasing to the Northern Powers, who, as the assertors of legitimacy and of the principles of the Holy Alliance, espoused the cause of Dom Miguel. Under these circumstances a compromise was adopted. Dom Miguel, as before suggested by Don Pedro, was betrothed to his niece, and it was arranged that he should undertake the Regency in her name. He accordingly returned to Lisbon, after paying a visit to England on his way, and took the oath to the Constitution, February 26th. But on the 13th of March, immediately after the departure of the English army, he dissolved the Chambers and annulled Don Pedro's Constitution; and as the clergy and the great mass of the people were in favour of the ancient absolutism, an attempt at insurrection in support of the Charter proved abortive.

Encouraged by this success, Miguel proceeded to further violence. On the 17th of June, declaring the succession established by his brother to be invalid, he seized the throne for himself, as legitimate King, and his usurpation was sanctioned by acclamation by the assembled Cortes on the 26th. Miguel now displayed all his real character. The leading Liberals who had not succeeded in escaping were thrown into prison; some of them were executed, the rest were treated with the greatest cruelty. The young tyrant sometimes assaulted his sister the Regent to the danger of her life; and he displayed his levity and caprice by making a *çi-devant* barber, one of his favourites, Duke of Queluz. He succeeded, however, in maintaining himself upon the throne, and two conspiracies in 1829 were suppressed and punished by bloody and illegal executions. Don Pedro despatched a fleet to Terceira, and made some unsuccessful attempts in favour of his daughter. Donna Maria had retired to Brazil, where, in 1830, she was betrothed to the young Prince Augustus von Leuchtenberg, whose sister Don Pedro had married. In 1831, Don Pedro being compelled by a revolution to relinquish the throne of Brazil to his youthful son, Don Pedro II., took charge of his daughter's affairs in person, and sailed for Terceira with a well-appointed army and fleet. He landed at Oporto, July 8th, 1832, and was received with enthusiasm; but Miguel kept him shut up a whole year in that town. Napier, however, the commander of Pedro's fleet, having

Dom Miguel
usurps the
Throne,
1828.

almost annihilated that of Miguel in a battle off Cape St. Vincent, July 5th, 1833, it became possible to ship an army at Oporto for Lisbon. Miguel's forces having been defeated in a battle, he was compelled to fly, and Pedro entered Lisbon July 28th. Two months after, Donna Maria arrived from London, and assumed the Crown September 23rd. Marshal Bourmont, driven from France by the Revolution, having obtained the command of the Miguelite forces, made an attempt upon Lisbon, which was defeated October 10th; but Miguel still maintained himself in the provinces.

Donna
Maria da
Gloria re-
sumes the
Crown.

The Quad-
ruple Al-
liance, 1834.

In this state of things the Northern Powers, the patrons of legitimacy even in such representatives of the principle as Carlos and Miguel, having assumed at a Congress at Münchengrätz a hostile, or at all events adverse, attitude to the policy of France and England, the latter Powers concluded with the Queens of Spain and Portugal the Quadruple Alliance before mentioned, April 22nd, 1834. Miguel, alarmed by this step, agreed by the Treaty of Evoramonte to quit the Peninsula, May 26th, and he subsequently fixed his residence at Rome. On the 24th of the following September, Don Pedro died. The marriage of Queen Maria with the Prince of Leuchtenberg was celebrated in January, 1835; but in the following March the youthful bridegroom was carried off by a cold, and Queen Maria, on the proposal of England, shortly after accepted the hand of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg.

Spanish
affairs.

The Spanish Queen did not derive much benefit from the Quadruple Alliance. By a treaty of June 28th, 1835, Louis Philippe, indeed, allowed the *Christinos* the aid of the so-called Foreign Legion, composed of all the scum of Paris; which had been sent to Algiers, and served as food for powder in the fights with the Arabs and Kabyles. A Legion of much the same kind, under General Evans, was also organized in England. But before these troops could arrive the position of Christina had become very critical. Although the Carlists had lost their great general Zumalacarragui, killed at the siege of Bilbao, June 25th, yet his place was ably filled by the brave and youthful Cabrera. The Spanish Government, besides having to contend with the Carlists, was also menaced by the factions and discontent of its own supporters. The Regent, indeed, in her heart detested the *Progresistas*, and it was only with reluctance that she was driven, through the success of the Carlists, to court their aid. That party established in

1835 a Junta at Barcelona, and demanded that the Constitution of 1812 should be restored; nor could Mina, whom the Queen had appointed Governor of that place, succeed in restoring obedience to the Government. The example spread: Juntas were erected at Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, Malaga, Cadiz, and other places; till at last the revolt broke out in the capital itself. The Regent was compelled to proclaim the Constitution of 1812, at her castle at La Granja, August 13th, 1836, and to place Calatrava, a Liberal, at the head of the Ministry.

Spanish
Constitution of 1812
restored.

On that very day General Lebeau, at the head of the French Foreign Legion, had at length entered Spain, and published a manifesto, proclaiming that he had been sent by the King of the French to support the Queen. But no sooner did Louis Philippe hear of the proclamation at La Granja than he publicly disavowed his general in the *Moniteur*. He well knew that a government founded on the Spanish Constitution of 1812, instead of following his counsels, would make common cause with the Republican party in France. Agreeably, however, to the Quadruple Alliance, he suffered his Legion to remain in Spain, where it continued to fight in the *Christina* cause till it was almost exhausted. Meanwhile Don Carlos not only prospered in the North, but also gained adherents in Andalusia and the South. In the spring of 1837 he even felt himself strong enough to make an attempt on Madrid, and gained a victory at Villa de las Navarras; but on the appearance of Espartero, who had relinquished the siege of Bilbao he lost heart and retired, and from this time his cause declined. Among the fanatical decrees which he issued in Biscay, was one directing that all Englishmen should be put to death, because they prevented him from receiving assistance by sea!

The Cortes, on the model of 1812, were opened by Christina June 18th, 1837, when she took an oath to the Constitution. She nevertheless favoured a reactionary policy, and was supported in it by the victorious Espartero, who belonged to the *Moderados*. That party was also favoured by Louis Philippe, who wished to suppress the insurrection in Spain, and to form a matrimonial connection for his sons with the Spanish family; while England opposed this policy by supporting the *Progresistas*. In the autumn of 1838, Narvaez having failed in an attempt to overthrow Espartero, was compelled to fly to

Policy of
Christina.

England. Maroto, who soon afterwards obtained the command of the Basque army, seeing the incapacity of Don Carlos, resolved to abandon the cause of legitimacy, and concluded a treaty with Espartero at Vergara, August 31st, 1839, by which the Basque Provinces agreed to acknowledge Queen Isabella II. on condition of recovering their *Fueros*, or ancient customs. Carlos now fled over the Pyrenees; when Louis Philippe caused him to be apprehended and kept him in honourable custody at Bourges. General O'Donnel dispersed the remains of the Carlists in the summer of 1840.

Espartero
Regent.

Espartero was rewarded for his success with the title of "Duke of Victory." Christina tried to persuade him to annul the Basque *Fueros*; but he would not consent, and he was supported in his policy by an insurrection at Barcelona. Christina now fled to Valencia, and placed herself under the protection of O'Donnel; but in her absence the people of Madrid rose and proclaimed a Provisional Government, an example which was followed by most of the principal towns of Spain; and the Regent found herself compelled to appoint Espartero Prime Minister. Espartero made a sort of triumphal entry into Madrid September 16th, and in the following October, Christina laid down the Regency in his favour and quitted Spain. This step was not taken entirely on political grounds. A secret marriage with Muñoz, a private in the guards, by whom she had several children, as well as an accusation of embezzling the public money, had rendered her contemptible. She proceeded to Rome, and thence to France, where she took up her abode till, as the instrument of Louis Philippe, she might find an opportunity again to interfere in the affairs of Spain.

The
Pronuncia-
mentos.

The Regency of Espartero, who was a moderate *Progresista*, attracted the envy and opposition of the other generals. Hence what were called the *Pronunciamentos*. Wherever the people were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Government or the person of the Regent, they *pronounced* against them and threatened to throw Spain into eternal confusion. To this, however, an end was put by the Cortes confirming Espartero in the Regency, May 8th, 1841; though Arguelles was named guardian of Isabella. Espartero maintained himself in the Regency, in spite of much opposition and many insurrections, till July, 1843, when being defeated by Narvaez in Valencia, he was compelled to fly to England. The policy of Spain at

this period turned much on the marriage of the young Queen, The *Moderados* wanted to marry her, or at all events her sister, to a French Prince; the moderate *Progresistas* approved the English proposal of a German Prince; while the *ultras* of the latter party wished her to espouse her cousin, the son of Louisa Charlotte. That Princess had formed a project to keep her sister Maria Christina for ever out of Spain, and to seize upon the Government. But her plans were cut short by a sudden death, January 29th, 1844.

The young Queen Isabella II. was declared of age by the Cortes, November 10th, 1843, when she took the oath to the Constitution. Narvaez, who now enjoyed the supreme military power, being a *Moderado*, and consequently favouring the views of France and Christina, the Queen-mother ventured, after her sister's death, to return to Madrid. She obtained the guidance of her daughter, but intent only on the gratification of her base inclinations, suffered Narvaez to rule. She created Muñoz Duke of Rianzareze and a grandee of Spain, and employed herself in accumulating large sums for her numerous children by him. Meanwhile Narvaez pursued a reactionary policy by curtailing the power of the Cortes, restoring the prerogatives of the Crown, recalling the exiled bishops, and otherwise promoting the interests of the Church. In 1845, in company with Christina and her two daughters, he made a tour in the provinces; when they were met at Pamplona by Louis Philippe's sons, the Dukes of Nemours and Aumale, with a view to forward the projected marriages. Narvaez was now created Duke of Valencia. But he was suddenly dismissed, April 4th, 1846, for having, it is suspected, favoured the suit of Francis, Count of Trapani, son of the King of Naples, for the hand of Isabella. Isturitz, who had before held the reins of power, now became Prime Minister.

Return of
Christina.

Other suitors to the young Queen were her cousins, Don Henry, second son of the Infant Francis de Paula; and Charles Louis, Count of Montemolin, son of Don Carlos, who had made over to his son all his claims to the Spanish throne. An insurrection was even attempted in favour of Don Henry; but its leader, Colonel Solis, was shot, and Don Henry banished from Spain. A marriage with the Count of Montemolin would have united all the claims to the Spanish throne; but both France and England opposed it. Louis Philippe,

The Spanish
marriages.

with the acquiescence of Christina, had selected for Isabella's husband, Francis de Assis, the eldest son of Francis de Paula, a young man weak in mind and body; while he destined his own son, the Duke of Montpensier, for Isabella's younger and healthier sister, Maria Louisa. Louis Philippe had promised Queen Victoria, when on a visit to him at the Château d'Eu in Normandy, in 1845, that the marriage of his son with the Infanta should not take place till Isabella had given birth to an heir to the throne. The young Queen had manifested her aversion for Francis de Assis, and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg had proceeded to Madrid in the spring of 1846 to sue for her hand. But by the machinations of Louis Philippe and Christina, Isabella's scruples to accept her cousin were overcome, and the King of the French, sacrificing without remorse the domestic happiness of the young Queen, gained a transient and not very honourable triumph by the *fait accompli* of a simultaneous marriage of Isabella with Francis de Assis, and of Montpensier with her sister, Maria Louisa, October 10th, 1846. Louis Philippe's deep-laid plot was, however, ultimately frustrated by unforeseen circumstances. The expulsion of the Orleans dynasty from France at once severed the family connection between the two crowns; and even had Louis Philippe remained in possession of the French throne, the hopes of the Duke of Montpensier would still have been frustrated by Queen Isabella giving birth to a daughter in 1851. By Serrano's advice Isabella emancipated herself from her mother's guidance, and favoured the party of the *Progresistas*, while Christina proceeded again to Paris to seek the advice of Louis Philippe. Isabella banished all the ancient Spanish etiquette, and the Court became a scene of scandalous dissipation.

Disturbances in France.

While Louis Philippe was thus engaged in the affairs of Spain, his own fall was preparing in France. The discontent which extensively prevailed in that kingdom was increased by the scarcity in the years 1846 and 1847. Disturbances broke out in several places, and the Liberal party began to agitate an electoral reform. The Central Electoral Committee at Paris declared itself *en permanence*, and incited the Provincial Committees to petition the Government. At a grand reform banquet, held at Château Rouge near Paris, July 9th, 1847, at which 1,200 persons were present, the King's health was omitted, but the toast of "the sovereignty of the people"

was drunk with acclamation. A similar banquet took place at Le Mans, August 10th, under the presidency of Ledru Rollin, and was followed by many others in various places. The reactionary policy of Guizot, and his determination to maintain the English alliance, were highly unpopular; while the corruption of some members of the Administration and of the Chambers had rendered the Government in general contemptible. The French Republicans were encouraged by the triumph of the Radicals in Switzerland, and by the progress of Mazzini's doctrines in Italy. The leaders of the first French Revolution had been content with claiming liberty, equality, and fraternity; the ideas of the *soi-disant* philosophical and revolutionary Radicals had now advanced considerably further. *Communism*, an offshoot of *St. Simonism*, had spread very extensively among the lower classes of the French, while Louis Blanc had brought forward a gigantic scheme of Utopian *Socialism* by which the State was to form one large happy family, providing work and maintenance for all its members. The elements of disturbance and revolution were insidiously stirred by Thiers, with the design of supplanting Guizot, and again seizing the reins of government.

The King, on opening the Chambers, December 27th, 1847, indiscreetly alluded in offensive terms to the reform banquet, and intimated his conviction that no reform was needed. In consequence of this speech very sharp debates took place on the Address, which lasted till the middle of February. The Electoral Committee of Paris, in conjunction with a committee of the Opposition Deputies, and of the officers of the National Guard, determined to have a colossal reform banquet in the Champs Elysées on the 22nd February, 1848, when it was expected that 100,000 spectators would be present. But it was forbidden by Guizot, who threatened to prevent it, if necessary, by military force. Odillon Barrot and most of the Deputies now abandoned any further opposition, though Lamartine and a few followers continued to declaim against the arbitrariness of the Government. The fête did not take place, as Marshal Bugeaud, who had between 50,000 and 60,000 men in Paris and its neighbourhood, was prepared to suppress it, while the guns of the forts were directed upon Paris. But symptoms of revolt began to manifest themselves among the Parisian populace; barricades were thrown up,

Insurrec-
tion in
Paris, 1848.

and some conflicts took place with the Municipal Guard. The riots were renewed on the 23rd, and the National Guard, which was called out for the protection of the city, manifested a hostile disposition towards the Government by shouts of *Vive la Réforme! A bas Guizot!* The King was weak enough to yield to this demonstration, by dismissing Guizot, and sending for Count Molé to form a new Administration. The tumult continued in the ensuing night, but without any very marked character, till a Lyonesse named Lagrange, a determined Republican and influential leader amongst the secret societies, gave matters a decided turn by conducting a large band, carrying a red flag, to the hotel of Guizot, where a battalion of infantry had been drawn up for his protection. A shot, fired, it is said, by Lagrange himself, having killed their commanding officer, the troops answered by a volley, which prostrated many dead and wounded on the pavement.

Indecision
of the
Government
and King.

While these scenes were passing out of doors, all was indecision in the Palace. Count Molé declined to accept the Ministry, and recourse was then had to Thiers. But matters had gone rather further than that statesman had contemplated, and he required that Odillon Barrot should be joined with him. Thiers now required the King to consent to the reforms demanded, to summon a new Chamber, elected on the principles of them, to forbid the troops to use any further violence towards the people, and to dismiss Marshal Bugeaud; in short, to disarm and countermand his enormous military preparations. Louis Philippe had completely lost his head. He agreed to all the demands of Thiers, who immediately issued a proclamation stating that reform was granted, that all motive for further opposition was removed, and that the soldiery had orders not to fire. But the proclamation came too late; and, as the signature had been omitted, it only excited the suspicions of the people, as intended to disarm them. Bugeaud was dismissed on the morning of February 24th, having previously signed an order forbidding the troops to fire. Many of the soldiers now began to fraternize with the people; fresh barricades were erected, and the attack drew hourly nearer and nearer to the Tuileries. The Palais Royal was stormed, and its costly furniture destroyed; while the troops, agreeably to their orders, looked quietly on; the Municipal Guards were massacred without assistance. The Duke of Nemours, who had been appointed Regent in case of his father's abdication,

rejected Bugeaud's pressing instances to resort to force. Louis Philippe would not listen to his Consort's exhortations to put himself at the head of the troops. As the storm approached the Tuileries, indeed, he mounted his horse and rode towards the troops; but he uttered not a word. The soldiery also remained dumb; but some of the National Guards cried *Vive la Réforme! A bas les ministres!* The King turned back, and all was lost. It was a repetition of Louis XVI.'s review of August 10th.

At length Louis Philippe, at the instance of the Duke de Montpensier, signed an Act of Abdication in favour of the Count de Paris, his grandson, and then hurried to St. Cloud. General Lamoricière took the Act of Abdication, and exhibited it to the people; but Lagrange tore the sheet from his hand, exclaiming, "It is not enough—the whole Dynasty must go!" As Lamoricière turned to depart, his horse was shot and he himself wounded. His soldiers lifted him up and fired. This incident aided the Republican cause. The Royal family were in consternation, and at a loss how to act. Thiers had vanished nobody knew whither, and left them to take care of themselves. The Duke de Nemours, as Regent, conducted the Duchess of Orleans, with her two young sons, to the Chamber of Deputies; but the mob broke in and prevented the proclamation of the Regency. In the midst of the tumult, Marie, an advocate, mounted the tribune, and proposed a Provisional Government. The motion was received with shouts of applause. Dunoyer, at the head of another band, carrying a flag captured at the Tuileries, now forced his way into the Chamber, and exclaimed: "This flag proclaims our victory; outside are 100,000 combatants, who will have neither King nor Regency." It was but too plain that all was lost, and the Royal family made their escape from Paris.

Abdication
of Louis
Philippe.

A Provisional Government was now appointed, consisting of Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine the poet, Arago the astronomer, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crémieux. These names were received with acclamation by the members, and by the armed mob which filled the precincts of the Chamber. On the motion of Lamartine, the new Government resolved to fix itself at the Hôtel de Ville, in order to prevent the establishment there of a Republican Socialist Directory. Louis Blanc, Marrast, Bastide, Floçon, and other leaders of the Republicans and Socialists, had indeed already taken possession

Provisional
Govern-
ment

of that building, and would no doubt have opposed the Provisional Government, had not the latter deemed it expedient to coalesce with them. It is to the firmness of Lamartine that must be attributed the preservation of any degree of order among these discordant elements. He allowed the Republic to be proclaimed only on condition of its future approval by the people, to whose newly-elected representatives was to be intrusted the settlement of the Constitution. Lamartine also caused a guard of young people to be formed for the protection of the Government, and thus eliminated one of the most dangerous elements of the revolt.

Opposition
to mob
violence.

Matters, however, still wore a threatening aspect. The mob had broken into the Tuileries, demolished all the furniture, and taken up their abode in the palace. Lamartine resisted with admirable courage all attempts at intimidation, and calmed the minds of the people by his exhortations. The middle classes, alarmed at the prospect of a Red Republic, assembled, the National Guard appeared on the Place de Grève, and the mob with their red flag began gradually to disperse.

Louis
Philippe in
England.

Louis Philippe, who was not pursued, fled towards the sea-coast, and after a concealment of nine days procured a passage for England in the name of William Smith. He was accompanied by the Queen and a few attendants, while the Duke de Montpensier, with the other ladies, except the Duchess of Orleans, who proceeded to Germany, took a different route to the coast, in order to lessen the risk of detection. Louis Philippe landed in England March 3rd, and took up his residence at Claremont, the property of his son-in-law, the King of the Belgians.

CHAPTER LXX

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

THE new French Government proceeded to consolidate itself. Louis Blanc was appointed "Minister of Progress," as a pledge for the furtherance of the "organization of labour." The Luxembourg, abandoned by the Peers, received a new senate in a committee of labourers and mechanics, who there discussed their interests and demands. At their head was Albert, a workman in a blouse, who had obtained a place in the Government next to Louis Blanc. The scheme adopted was to open large national workshops, where all who applied might find employment and wages. Thus the State was converted into a manufacturing firm, to whose service, as the pay was good, and the superintendence not over strict, flocked all the lazy, skulking mechanics of Paris and its neighbourhood. They soon numbered 80,000, to be maintained at the public expense, to the ruin of private tradesmen. Thus the Revolution of 1848 was not like that of 1830, merely political, but social also, like the first Revolution, but based on such absurd, though less inhuman principles, that the speedy fall of the new system was inevitable.

The Second
French
Republic.

The Provisional Government was recognized throughout France. Marshal Bugeaud acknowledged its authority, and was followed by the whole army. The Duc d'Aumale, who commanded in Algiers, surrendered his post to General Changarnier, and proceeded to England with his brother the Duc de Joinville, who had hitherto commanded the French fleet. The Provisional Government superseded Changarnier by Cavaignac, the brother of an influential republican. The priests also submitted, for the Church was not threatened with persecution. After the interval of a fortnight the prefect of police drove out the crowd which had taken possession of the

Tuileries, and that palace was converted into an hospital for old and infirm labourers. The same dangerous elements were, however, afloat as in the first Revolution, and if they did not gain the ascendancy it was because the higher and middle classes, instructed by experience, actively opposed them. The inscriptions of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*, struck the eye on every side; the titles of *Monsieur* and *Madame* again gave place to those of *Citoyen* and *Citoyenne*; the Goddess of Liberty with her red cap appeared at every public festival, and trees of liberty were planted in all the public places. Low journals were published under the names of *La Guillotine, La Carmagnole*, etc., which adopted all the slang of *sans-culottisme*, and exhorted to plunder and murder in the style of Marat. The ultra-democrats Cabat, Blanqui, and Raspail formed a sort of triumvirate, and incited the Communist clubs to proceed to extremities. They attempted to put down Lamartine and the more moderate party, and to establish a Red Republic under Ledru Rollin. But the citizens and National Guards were on the alert. A mob having been collected, April 16th, to petition for an alteration in the relations between master and servant, 100,000 National Guards assembled to preserve the peace, and shouted, *A bas Cabat! à bas le communisme!* From this day the extreme party was defeated.

The
National
Assembly.

The National Assembly met at Paris, May 4th. The majority of it were men of moderate opinions, some even desired a reaction; yet when Dupont de l'Eure, in the name of the Provisional Government, resigned its power into their hands, a Republic was voted by acclamation, and an Executive Commission was appointed to conduct the public business till the new Constitution should be established. The members of the Commission were Lamartine, Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Ledru Rollin; and Louis Blanc, Albert, and the Socialists were excluded. A mob of Socialists and Communists broke into the Assembly, May 15th, and endeavoured to enforce a government in conformity with their views, but the attempt failed. This party was entirely overawed by the force displayed at a grand review held on May 21st; after which, Barbès, Albert, and Hubert were indicted and sentenced to transportation, and Blanqui to seven years' imprisonment. Louis Blanc was also indicted, but escaped by flight.

Louis
Napoleon.

When the news of the Revolution arrived in England, Prince Napoleon, who had in May, 1846, succeeded in escaping to

that country from his prison at Ham, immediately set off for Paris; but returned, in compliance with the wishes of the Provisional Government. On the 8th of June he was elected a representative for Paris, and he was also returned in the departments of Charente and Yonne. Two of his cousins, Napoleon, son of Jérôme, and Peter, son of Lucien, sat in the Assembly. These movements of the Bonaparte family excited the apprehension of Lamartine, who attempted to obtain with regard to Louis Napoleon the enforcement of the old decree for the banishment of the Emperor Napoleon's posterity. Louis Napoleon, thinking that his opportunity was not yet arrived, thanked the electors who had returned him, and declared himself ready to discharge any duties which the people might intrust to him, but for the present he remained in London.

An attempt of the Government to dismiss part of the workmen from the *ateliers nationaux* produced one of the fiercest battles Paris had yet seen. These workmen, who now numbered near 100,000, and were regularly drilled, threw up barricades more artificially constructed than any that had yet been made, and defended them with desperation. The battle began on the 23rd of June, and lasted four days; but the insurgents were at length subdued by the superior force of the troops of the line and the National Guards. Many of the latter had come up from the provincial towns to aid in the suppression of Socialism. Some thousands of persons fell in this sanguinary affray, among them the venerable Monseigneur Affre, Archbishop of Paris, while exhorting the rioters to peace. General Cavaignac, who had been appointed Dictator during the struggle, now laid down his office, but was appointed chief of the Executive Commission with the title of President of the Council.

Reaction
against
Socialism.

The fear which Socialism had inspired had produced among the more educated classes a reaction in favour of monarchy. The national workshops were now suppressed, as well as all clubs and the revolutionary press. Even Lamartine and Cavaignac lost their popularity, and persons like Thiers began to appear, and to give a different direction to affairs. Cavaignac, however, who now directed the Government of France, had little personal ambition; he aimed at preserving peace both abroad and at home, and avoiding the extremes either of Socialism or despotism. Besides the Republicans and Socialists,

The New
Constitution.

three parties were in the field—the Legitimists, or adherents of Charles X.'s dynasty, the Orleanists, and the Bonapartists. Louis Napoleon had remained quietly in London till he was again elected a representative for Paris, as well as for four departments—the Moselle, Yonne, Lower Charente, and Corsica. He now returned to France, and after making a short speech in the Assembly, September 26th, took no further part in the debates. Meanwhile the new Constitution was prepared—a Republic, headed by a President elected every four years, but almost entirely dependent on the National Assembly. For the Presidency became candidates Louis Napoleon, Cavaignac, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and Raspail, the representative of the Socialists. In his address to the electors, Louis Napoleon promised order at home, peace abroad, a reduction of taxes, and a ministry chosen from the best and most able men of all parties. But the educated classes of Frenchmen entertained at this time a contempt for his abilities, and his pretensions were ridiculed by the newspapers. The peasantry and the common soldiers were his chief supporters. Thiers, however, and other intriguers of Louis Philippe's time, advocated his claims; but only in the expectation that he would display his incapacity, and serve as a stepping-stone to the restoration of the Orleans dynasty, while others supported him from envy and jealousy of Cavaignac. The election took place December 10th, when Napoleon obtained five and a half million votes, while Cavaignac, who stood next, had only about one and a half million, and the other candidates but very small numbers. Napoleon was installed in the office which he had thus triumphantly won, December 20th, and took up his residence in the Elysée. He appointed Odillon Barrot Minister of Justice, Drouyn de Lhuys to the Foreign Office, Malleville to the Home Office, General Rulhière to the War Department, De Tracy to the Navy, and Passy to the administration of the finances. To Marshal Bugeaud was intrusted the command of the army, and to Changarnier that of the National Guard; while Jérôme Bonaparte, ex-king of Westphalia, was made Governor of the *Invalides*.

Louis
Napoleon
elected
President.

Germany.

The shock of the French Revolution of 1848, like that of the previous one, vibrated through Europe. The Germans were among the first to feel its influence.

The Imperial throne of Austria was now occupied by Ferdinand I. Francis, the last of the Romano-German and the

first of the Austrian Emperors, after an eventful reign which had commenced almost contemporaneously with the first French Republic, died March 2nd, 1835. His son and successor would have been still less fitted for such eventful times. Ferdinand was the personification of good nature, but weak both in body and mind, without any knowledge of business, and led by his Minister, Prince Metternich. The death of the English King William IV. in 1837 had also vacated the crown of Hanover, and severed it from its connection with Great Britain. Victoria, our late gracious Sovereign, who then ascended the throne of England on the death of her uncle, was disqualified by her sex, according to the laws of Hanover, from succeeding to that crown, which consequently devolved to her uncle Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. One of the first acts of the new King's reign was to abolish the Constitution which had been established in 1833, and to restore that of 1819. But this *coup d'état* was attended with no more serious result than the resignation of seven Göttingen professors. King Frederick William III. of Prussia died June 7th, 1840. Of this King it may be said, that as few Sovereigns of modern times have experienced greater misfortunes and humiliations, so few or none more richly deserved them by the vacillation and timidity of his counsels, his want of all political principle, and his treachery towards his neighbours and allies. His son and successor Frederick William IV. began his reign with some liberal measures, which, however, soon appeared to be the effects of weakness rather than of wisdom and benevolence. Prussia had been promised a Representative Constitution in 1815, but nothing had yet been done. Frederick William IV. summoned to Berlin a sort of Diet or Parliament, not, however, in the spirit of this promise, but merely composed of the provincial assemblies united together. The King opened this mock assembly April 11th with a fine sentimental speech, in which he observed that he would never allow a sheet of paper—that is, a Charter—to stand like a second Providence between him and the country! He complained of the spirit of innovation and infidelity that was abroad, and with that union of religion with despotism affected by the two most powerful of the Northern Courts, explained, “I and my house will serve the Lord.” The Chamber, in their address, claimed, but in vain, the promised Representative Constitution.

Deaths of
Francis I.
William IV.
and
Frederick
William III.

A trifling insurrection having occurred in Poland in 1846,

Austria
takes
Cracow.

Prussia and Russia agreed that the Republic of Cracow should be incorporated with Austria; which accordingly took place in November, in spite of the opposition of Lord Palmerston, the English Minister.

Kossuth in
Hungary.

In Hungary, after the death of the Archduke Stephen, the Palatine, his son Joseph was elected to that high office. In 1847 the Emperor Ferdinand himself proceeded into Hungary, to be crowned with the holy crown of St. Stephen as King Ferdinand V. Instead of the usual Latin oration, he spoke on this occasion in the Hungarian tongue; a circumstance which increased the hopes of the Magyars of forcing, with their own language, their desires also of independence on the Slavonians, Germans, and Wallachians living in Hungary. Kossuth now distinguished himself as the most eloquent speaker and most influential member of the Opposition. The States of Bohemia also exerted themselves for the freedom of the press and the right of self-taxation; and even in Austria itself projects of reform were agitated.

Question of
the Danish
Succession.

It was about 1846 that complications began to arise concerning the Danish boundary. The old King, Frederick VI., had died in 1839. He was succeeded by his great nephew, Christian VIII., then fifty-four years of age, whose only son, Frederick, did not promise to leave any posterity. In the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, females were excluded from succeeding to the Sovereignty, though, as we have seen, such was not the case in Denmark.¹ Frederick's aunt, Charlotte, sister of Christian VIII., was therefore next heir to the throne of that Kingdom, in the event of Frederick's death. Charlotte was the mother of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse, who had married in 1844 the Grand Duchess Alexandra, daughter of the Emperor Nicholas; and hence the Imperial family of Russia had obtained a near interest in the Danish succession. On the other hand, Duke Christian, of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, as the nearest male agnate of the Danish Royal family, began to entertain hopes of succeeding in Schleswig and Holstein, and did everything that lay in his power to support the German party in those Duchies. But in 1846 King Christian VIII., in the interests of Russian policy, issued letters patent extending the Danish law of female suc-

¹ The Danish crown was made transmissible *en quenouille* at the same time that it was made hereditary (in 1660).

cession to the whole of his dominions, thus annihilating with the stroke of a pen all the hopes of the German party in Schleswig and Holstein.

The Germans now began an agitation on this subject, in which they confounded the totally distinct rights of Schleswig and Holstein. The latter Duchy having an entirely German population, and being a member of the German Confederation, its affairs came properly under the consideration of the German Diet. With Schleswig the case was entirely different. That Duchy was ceded to Canute, King of Denmark and England, by the Emperor Conrad II., in 1080, when the boundary of the Eyder was re-established as the natural one of Denmark; while Holstein did not come under the dominion of the Danish Crown till 1460, in the reign of Christian I., Count of Oldenburg, who had claims on the female side. The German *Bund* had no right to interfere with the internal affairs of Schleswig. At most, as an international, not a national question, it had a right to demand that the claims of the German agnates to the succession should be respected. About half of the inhabitants of Schleswig, however, spoke Low German, and this portion of the population desired that the union of the two Duchies should be maintained, and that both should, if possible, be incorporated with the German *Bund*. This sufficed to produce in Germany an agitation in their favour, especially as the question opened up the prospect of territorial aggrandizement, and the acquisition of ports on the North Sea. The rights of the two Duchies were confounded, and the enthusiasm of the Germans was excited by articles in newspapers, and by the popular song *Schleswig-Holstein meer-umschlungen*. Meetings were held in Holstein, and the German Diet promised that the rights of the *Bund* and the succession of the legal agnates should be asserted. A meeting in Holstein, was dispersed by the Danish military; but the peace was not further disturbed, and matters remained in this posture till the death of Christian VIII., January 20th, 1848. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick VII., and a few weeks after, the French Revolution broke out.

The Schleswig-Holstein question.

This event not only inflamed the Schleswig-Holstein question, but also, as we have said, set all Germany in combustion. In the smaller States it displayed itself in a desire for German unity, while in the Austrian dominions it produced an insurrection of the Hungarians, Slavs, and Italians. Revo-

The Baden Resolutions.

lutionary symptoms first appeared on the banks of the Rhine. At Mannheim the people assembled and demanded a German Parliament, the freedom of the press, and the arming of the people. Similar disturbances took place at Karlsruhe. A day or two after Welker further demanded, in the Chamber of the States of Baden, that the *Bund* should abrogate all its unpopular resolutions, that the military should take an oath to the Constitution, that persons of all religious denominations should be placed on a footing of perfect political equality, that Ministers should be made responsible, that all feudal burdens still remaining should be abolished, that taxation should be more equally distributed, that labour should be protected, and lastly, that the Ministry should be purified. These resolutions became the programme of the Revolutionists throughout Germany. The peasants from the surrounding country had flocked in crowds to Karlsruhe, and in the following night the hotel of the Foreign Minister was burnt down. The Grand Duke of Baden now promised everything demanded. Similar movements took place in Darmstadt and Nassau. In the Electorate of Hesse, a "Commission of the People" was established at Hanau, which threatened to depose the Elector if he did not grant all their demands within three days. On the 10th of March everything was conceded. Similar concessions were made in Oldenburg, Brunswick, and other of the smaller States. The Governments of the larger middle States, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, alone opposed any resistance to the people, till Austria and Prussia were likewise observed to be in confusion. Commotions also arose in Switzerland, where Radicalism was now triumphant. The seven Catholic Cantons, Lucerne, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and the Valais, had in 1846 united against the attacks of the others, and formed what was called the *Sonderbund*; but this league was soon overthrown by the Swiss Radicals under Dufour. In 1848 *Free Bands* were organized in Switzerland to aid the establishment of a Republic in Germany. Applications were also made to the French Government for aid in that project, which, however, was refused.

The leaders of the Opposition in various German Chambers held a meeting at Heidelberg, March 8th, and published a proclamation to the German people, promising them a national representation, and inviting them to attend a grand assembly, or as they called it, *Vor-parlament*, in which a representative

system was to be prepared. The smaller German Sovereigns met the movement by making the leaders of the Constitution-
alists their Ministers, or by appointing them to the Diet. Austria and Prussia concerted together a reform of the Confederation, and published a declaration, March 10th, that a Congress of Princes would assemble at Dresden on the 15th, to take the proposed reform in hand. But the Congress was prevented by Austria herself becoming absorbed in the revolutionary vortex.

The whole strength of that vast but ill-compacted Empire seemed to collapse in a single day. When the news of the French Revolution arrived in Hungary, Kossuth carried in the Diet at Pesth an address to the Emperor, March 3rd, demanding "a National Government, purged from all foreign influence." Addresses for reform were also got up in Vienna itself, in some of which the dismissal of Metternich was demanded. Kossuth had agents in the Austrian capital, who read to the Viennese his address to the Hungarian Diet. After a slight attempt to put down the people by force, that method was abandoned, and the Archduke Louis, the Emperor's uncle, advised him to yield to their demands. Prince Metternich now quitted Vienna for London, and the Emperor granted freedom of the press, a national guard, and a Liberal Constitution for the whole Empire. A national guard was immediately formed, and kept the mob in order. Kossuth made a sort of triumphal entry into Vienna by torch-light, March 15th, at the head of a numerous Hungarian deputation, which, accompanied by several thousand armed men, with banners and music, proceeded to the Burg to deliver the Hungarian address to the Emperor.

Revolution
in Austria.

Riots also occurred in several parts of Prussia, as Breslau, Königsberg, Erfurt. At Berlin, meetings were held in the Thiergarten, at which addresses to the King were prepared. The Prussian Government at first resorted to military force to disperse these assemblies, and some blood was shed. But at the news of what was passing in Vienna, the King announced, March 17th, freedom of the press, the assembly of a *Landtag*, or Diet, for April 2nd, the conversion of the German *Staatenbund* (Confederation of States) into a *Bundesstaat* (Confederated State), and the incorporation of East and West Prussia and Posen in the *Bund*. But the people further required the formation of a burgher-guard, the withdrawal of

Riots in
Berlin.

the military from the town, and the dismissal of the Ministry. These demands were carried to the palace by a great multitude, when the King appeared on the balcony and promised that everything should be conceded. In consequence, however, of some misunderstanding, an affray with the military suddenly began, barricades were thrown up, and a riot ensued which lasted all night, in which upwards of 200 persons lost their lives. Henry von Arnim, who had been Prussian Ambassador at Paris during the Revolution, and was now made Foreign Minister, advised the King to put himself at the head of the people. William, Prince of Prussia, the King's brother, fled from Berlin, and the people wrote on his palace, "National property."

Policy of
Frederick
William IV.

Part of the Prussian Ministry had resolved on an attempt to place Frederick William IV. at the head of the new German nationality, and that Sovereign lent himself to the project with the same feeble mixture of covetousness and irresolution which his father had displayed with regard to the filching of Hanover. On the 21st March the army assumed the German cockade in addition to the Prussian; the King rode through the streets decorated with the three German colours, preceded by the students carrying a banner of the Empire with the double eagle. In proclamations addressed "To my people," and "To the German nation," it was declared "that Prussia rises into Germany," and that "the Princes and States of Germany shall deliberate in common, as an Assembly of German States, as to the regeneration and reconstruction of Germany." The King rejected, indeed, the titles of "Emperor" and of "King of the Germans," which had been given him in one of these proclamations. But he yielded entirely to the demands for internal reform. The bodies of those who had fallen, March 18th, were conducted to the grave in a solemn procession, which the King beheld from his balcony; and Sydow, the preacher, pronounced a funeral oration over them. On the same day the King granted all the demands of the Baden scheme. Riots broke out at the same time in other parts of Prussia, and especially the Rhenish Provinces; to pacify which, Camphausen, of Cologne, was appointed head of the Ministry.

Its effects
in Ger-
many.

The proceedings at Berlin on the 21st of March produced a bad impression in Germany. Frederick William's attempt at usurpation was received with the unconcealed scorn of all

parties at Vienna, Munich, and Stuttgart. But his concessions to his people, as well as the revolution at Vienna, prevented the Saxon, Hanoverian, and Bavarian Governments from any longer opposing the demands of their subjects. The King of Hanover granted the Baden scheme of reform. The King of Saxony, on the news of Metternich's dismissal, immediately appointed a Liberal Ministry. In Bavaria, the old King, Louis, abdicated in favour of his son, Maximilian II., March 20th. At Munich, in addition to the other revolutionary elements which prevailed throughout Germany, the King had made himself unpopular by an intrigue with an opera-dancer.

The *Vor-parlament* (preliminary Parliament) was opened in the Paul's Church at Frankfurt, March 31st. It consisted, for the most part, of Opposition members from the Chambers of the middling and smaller German States, but many non-descript persons were admitted. There were but few Prussian members, and Austria was represented only by Wiesner, a Jew writer. Hacker, Struve, and other violent democrats, aimed at a German Republic, or, at all events, the establishment of a German Parliament, from which Princes were to be excluded. But as these Princes were at the head of large standing armies, it is difficult to see how this project was to be accomplished. The cowardice, boasting, drunkenness, and other vices of the German democrats, made them contemptible from the beginning; and, though they succeeded in creating a great deal of disorder, they never had a chance of success. In all their skirmishes with the regular troops they were invariably defeated.

The Vor-parlament.

The effects of the movement manifested themselves in Schleswig and Holstein by a demand for union, with a separate Constitution, and the admission of Schleswig into the German *Bund*. A Provisional Government for the two Duchies was appointed, March 24th, with the Duke of Augustenburg, Count Reventlow, and Beseler at the head. Frederick William IV. assured the Duke of Augustenburg by letter that he would protect his title, and that he approved the union of Schleswig with Holstein. The Prussian army had been offended by their dismissal from Berlin; a war with Denmark might obliterate the feeling, as well as restore the King's popularity. The Diet at Frankfurt adopted the Prussian view, authorized Prussia to interfere in the Danish question, and admitted into their Assembly a Deputy from

The aims of Schleswig-Holstein.

Schleswig-Holstein. The Prussian and Hanoverian troops of the *Bund* defeated the Danes in several battles; and on May 18th, General Wrangel entered Jutland, and enforced a contribution of three million dollars. He contemplated holding that province as a material guarantee for the compliance of the Danes with the German demands; but on May 26th he received an order of recall, and the progress of the campaign was arrested, owing, it is thought, to Russian influence.

Death of
Charles
XIV. of
Sweden,
1844.

In Sweden, the tranquillity which had prevailed ever since the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, was not now disturbed. The Crown Prince, Charles John (Bernadotte), had succeeded to the Swedish Throne, with the title of Charles XIV., on the death of Charles XIII. in 1818; and in conjunction with the Four Estates, had ruled with wisdom and moderation. Charles XIV. died in 1844, and was succeeded by his son Oscar. During the Dano-German conflict Oscar offered his mediation, and on its rejection by the Germans, promised the Danes his aid. The pretensions of the Germans to Schleswig were also condemned by the Norwegians. As Prussia, which suffered from the Danish blockade, did not seem inclined to follow up her victories, the Ministry of the Confederation resolved, July 1st, to raise an army and to carry out the German pretensions without her aid. The contingents of Würtemberg and Baden began their march for the North at the beginning of August, but on the 7th of that month the Archduke John, who had now been elected *Reichsverweser*, or Vicar of the new German Confederation, gave the King of Prussia full powers to negotiate an armistice with the Danes. Prussia had accepted Swedish mediation, and Conferences were going on, which resulted, August 26th, in the armistice of Malmö. The King of Denmark consented that during this armistice, which was to last for seven months, Schleswig and Holstein should have a common Government; half to be appointed by himself, and the other half by the King of Prussia, on behalf of the *Bund*.

The revolution at Vienna naturally set all Italy in a flame, and led to very important developments.

State of
Italy.

In 1838 the Emperor Ferdinand had caused himself to be crowned, at Milan, King of Lombardy and Venice, and in the same year the French had evacuated Ancona. The dominion of Austria seemed to be sufficiently stable in Northern Italy, so long as peace with France was preserved, to assure the

tranquillity, or the servitude, of the other Italian States. But under the surface glowed a volcano of faction. Mazzini had founded a secret league called *La giovane Italia*, or "Young Italy," the object of which was to emancipate Italy from the yoke of foreigners. In 1840, when the affairs of the East threatened a breach between France and the Northern Powers, the Italians began to stir; and partial attempts at insurrection were subsequently made in 1843 and 1846. The death of Pope Gregory XVI. in June, 1846, seemed to open brighter prospects to the patriots of Italy. The Conclave chose for his successor Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who assumed the title of Pius IX. The new Pope began his reign with some liberal measures, which made him very popular in Italy. He granted amnesties, deposed all unpopular magistrates, allowed a greater liberty of the press. It was an opinion entertained by many, that the unity and independence of Italy could be achieved only by means of the Pope; and it was hoped that Pius IX. might be induced to head the league of "Young Italy:" but there was an afterthought that the tool should be thrown aside when it had answered the purpose. The club called *Circolo Romano* took up this idea, pretended a great affection for the Pope, and cheered him when he appeared in public. Pio Nono consented to a sort of Parliament, and to the formation of a *guardia civica*, or burgher-guard. He even entertained the idea of an Italian *Zollverein*, or customs-union, as a prelude to political unity. Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was also induced by some popular demonstrations to authorize a burgher-guard, and certain political reforms. Austria, however, warned the Pope as to his proceedings. That Power garrisoned the citadel of Ferrara, agreeably to the Treaties of 1815; but she now proceeded to occupy the whole town; an act against which Pius was persuaded to protest, and even to make preparations for war.¹

Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, also announced about this time some liberal measures. In November, 1847, he concluded a customs-union with Rome and Tuscany, and in February, 1848, he granted a new Constitution to his subjects. On the North he cultivated the friendship of the Swiss. The South of Italy had been disturbed before the French Revo-

Pius IX.

Insurrec-
tion in Aus-
trian Italy,
1848.

¹ Stillman, *The Union of Italy*; Maurice, *The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-49 in Italy, Austria and Hungary*.

lution. An insurrection had broken out at Palermo, January 12th, 1848, and on the 29th in Naples, when King Ferdinand II. granted a Constitution. The principles of Mazzini also pervaded Austrian Italy. The Austrian Government affected mildness, but it is difficult to reconcile men to a foreign yoke. A crusade was got up against tobacco, the sale of which was an Austrian monopoly, by a renunciation of smoking; and at the beginning of 1848 all intercourse with Austrian officers was broken off. At this time the apathetic Archduke Rainer was Viceroy in the Austrian dominions in Italy, while Marshal Radetzki, then eighty-two years of age, held the military command. Radetzki, who foresaw the coming storm, in vain besought his Government for reinforcements, and that Milan, Verona, and other places should be strengthened. The Archduke left Milan for Vienna, March 17th, and on the evening of the same day the insurrection in that capital was publicly known at Milan. Next morning Casati, the Podestà, the Archbishop of Milan, and Count Borromeo, the chief of the Lombard nobles, who had long been initiated in the conspiracy, displayed the three-coloured flag, and demanded from Count O'Donnel, who conducted the Government in the absence of the Archduke, that he should assent to all the demands of the Lombard people, as had been done in Vienna. O'Donnel hesitated, the Podestà apprehended him, and the people threw up barricades. A street fight ensued, which lasted four days; during which the troops suffered so severely that Radetzki withdrew them, except at the gates and in the citadel. His force consisted of only 20,000 men; Charles Albert of Sardinia was approaching with his whole army; and Radetzki, feeling that he was not strong enough to hold the insurgent town, evacuated it on the night of March 22nd.

Charles
Albert
seizes
Milan.

Charles Albert had received no injury from Austria; but the opportunity was too tempting to be lost. He declared war, took possession of Milan, and pursued the retreating Radetzki; who, after reducing to ashes the little town of Melegnano which had obstructed his retreat, and withdrawing the garrisons from several places, took up a strong position between the Mincio and the Adige, in the triangle formed by the fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera and Verona; where he awaited reinforcements from Germany. The Austrian garrisons in Brescia, Cremona, Como, Padua, Treviso, Udine, sur-

rendered. Venice was lost through the cowardice of the commandant. A capitulation was entered into with the insurgent people, the Austrians left the city, and the advocate Manin placed himself at the head of the restored Republic.

Charles Albert, though called the *Spada d'Italia*, or sword of Italy, and though his forces far outnumbered those of Radetzki, did not venture on a battle. He hoped that his connection with the revolutionists at Vienna would obtain for him the gift of Italy, which all parties agreed must be wrested from Austria, though they differed as to what was to be done with it. Radetzki could expect no aid from Vienna, where the Government was in a state of dissolution. Count Kolowrat, the hope of the Liberals, had succeeded to Metternich's place, but could not allay the storm. The Archduke Louis resigned the conduct of affairs to the Archduke Francis Charles, who ruled with as weak a hand, and Kolowrat was succeeded by Count Ficquelmont. Kossuth, in order to wrest Hungary from Austria, endeavoured to perpetuate the disturbances at Vienna. The Emperor Ferdinand had promised the Hungarians many reforms, and even permitted a national ministry independent of that at Vienna, of which Count Batthyani was the head, while Kossuth administered the finances. Kossuth demanded for Hungary the Baden scheme of reform, which would give the aristocracy their last blow. He also required the incorporation of Transylvania with Hungary, a national Hungarian bank and the exclusion of Austrian paper money; also, that Hungarian troops should not serve the Emperor out of the Austrian dominions. The Diet at Pesth, overawed by the aspect of affairs, in its last sitting, April 11th, at which the Emperor Ferdinand was present, gave all these demands the force of law.

Kossuth's
demands.

The Bohemians also demanded a new Constitution and reforms very similar to those required by the Hungarians. Professor Palacky, the historian of Bohemia, was the soul of the Tschech party, as Kossuth was of the Magyar movement in Hungary. Palacky was invited by the *Vor-parlament* to take his seat among them; but he declared that he was a Tschech, and would not meddle with German affairs. The Bohemians invited Ferdinand to Prague, as the riots still continued at Vienna; but he took refuge in preference at Innsbruck among his faithful Tyrolese. The suppression of a riot at Prague, by Prince Windischgrätz, in June, was the

Insurrec-
tion in
Bohemia.

first reactionary triumph of the Imperial arms. Nor did Charles Albert, in spite of his numerical superiority, make much progress in Lombardy. Garibaldi, who was born at Nice, July 4th, 1807, and after some exploits in South America returned to Europe in 1848, had raised about 8,000 volunteers; but the King of Sardinia, dreading the triumph of the Mazzinists and Republicans, did not encourage the arming of the people. He sent 2,000 men to assist and secure Venice, but that city preferred to remain a Republic. As at one time the Austrian Government seemed disposed to surrender, Charles Albert refused to join a league of the Italian States proposed by the Pope.

Central
Italy.

After the revolution at Paris the movements already in progress in Central and Southern Italy broke into a perfect storm. Pius IX. in some degree allayed it at Rome by announcing a new Constitution for that city, including a temporal ministry and a chamber of deputies (March 15th). But at the news of the revolution at Vienna the Romans were seized with a sort of fury. All flew to arms; the Palazzo di Venezia was stormed, and the Austrian double eagle torn down. The Pope despatched his troops under Durando, with a considerable body of volunteers under Colonel Ferrari, to his northern frontier, for the avowed purpose of defence; but Durando led them over the Po to join Charles Albert, when Pius, in alarm, asserted in an allocution, April 29th, that he had given his troops no such orders. Such, however, was the spirit inspired by the democratic movement in Austria, that the Pope's consent was extorted to make common cause with Charles Albert, but on condition that the latter Sovereign should join the Italian league, which, as we have said, he declined. The same spirit prevailed in Tuscany as at Rome, and hence also a small army of 7,000 men was despatched. In Modena the Duke was driven from his dominions.

Revolution
at Naples.

Before the French Revolution broke out the King of Naples had already granted a Constitution to his subjects, February 10th, 1848, while in the preceding January Sicily had separated from that country and declared its independence. Lord Minto, who had been sent into Italy in a semi-official capacity by the British Government, endeavoured in vain to reconcile the Sicilians and the King. The Jesuits were now driven from Naples; the Austrian arms at the Embassy were torn down; and, as the King could give him no satisfaction, Prince Felix

Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Ambassador, took his departure. Ferdinand II. was at length compelled to sanction a fresh democratic Constitution, April 3rd, when Troja, the historian, became his Prime Minister. War was now declared against Austria, and General Pepé sent to the North with 13,000 men; but from jealousy of Charles Albert they were directed not to cross the Po. When the Neapolitan Chambers met, May 14th, they were not contented with the new Constitution, and a fresh insurrection broke out which threatened to overturn the throne. Barricades were thrown up, and a sanguinary conflict ensued between the Swiss guards and the populace, which ended in the entire discomfiture of the insurgents. Ferdinand, after causing the people to be disarmed, withdrew the concessions which he had made in April, but retained the Constitution of February. Prince Cariatì was now appointed Minister. Pepé was recalled, and directed to proceed to Sicily to restore order, but preferred to go to Venice with such of his troops as were inclined to follow him. The Swiss *Tagesatzung*, or Diet, ordered the regiments which had fought for the King at Naples to be disbanded, as having acted contrary to the honour and interest of Switzerland. But these regiments refused to quit the King's service.

Meanwhile in the North of Italy, Marshal Radetzki, having been reinforced by Count Nugent with 13,000 men, repulsed an attack made by Charles Albert at St. Lucia, May 6th. On the 29th he defeated with great loss Laugier's Tuscan division at Curtatone; but was, in turn, defeated the following day by Charles Albert at Goito. The Emperor Ferdinand, who was at Innsbruck, now directed Radetzki to conclude an armistice, but the Marshal ventured to disobey these orders, and wrote to his master not to despond. Peschiera surrendered to the Piedmontese, May 30th. On the other hand, Radetzki took Vicenza, June 11th. The capture of Rivoli by Charles Albert, which lies on the road from Verona into South Tyrol, was of less importance than it might seem, as Radetzki's communication with Vienna was secured more to the east. Towards the end of July the Piedmontese were defeated in several engagements, and the Austrians, having been largely reinforced, began to advance. Charles Albert now solicited a truce, which was refused. The British Government had attempted to mediate in favour of Charles Albert, and Lord Abercrombie, the English Ambassador at Turin, proceeded to the Austrian

North Italy.

camp to negotiate; but Radetzki would hear of nothing till he should have arrived at Milan. The Piedmontese retreated, or rather fled, to that town, without venturing to defend Cremona, and were defeated in a battle before the gates of the Lombard capital, August 5th, which was re-entered by Radetzki on the following day. On the 9th he signed an armistice, by which he secured Charles Albert's frontiers. That Sovereign, on his side, surrendered Peschiera, and withdrew his troops from Venice. He had been proclaimed King in that city, July 4th, but at the news of his misfortunes the people turned, and Manin again proclaimed the Republic. Garibaldi, after delivering a last battle against the Austrians, fled into Switzerland. Thus all Lombardy was again subdued; Radetzki proceeded to invest Venice on the land side, and began the laborious siege of that city.

Election of
an Imperial
Vicar.

Meanwhile the German National Assembly assembled at Frankfurt to establish a "German Constitution" without any interference on the part of the Princes, chose Henry von Gagern for their President, May 18th. The majority were for restoring an Emperor, while only a minority desired a Republic. On the motion of Von Gagern, the Archduke John, as we have before intimated, was elected *Reichsverweser*, or Imperial Vicar, June 29th, being thus constituted, as it were, a Præ-Emperor, as the *Vor-parlament* had been a Præ-parliament. The Archduke John entered Frankfurt in state, July 11th; on the following day the Diet of the Confederation closed its session, and handed over its power to the Imperial Vicar. Of all the German Sovereigns, the King of Hanover alone protested against these proceedings.

Riots and
Meetings in
Germany.

The Constituent Assembly for Prussia was also opened at Berlin, May 22nd, but like the Frankfurt Parliament, did nothing but talk. The expedition against Denmark had been undertaken to divert the people's attention from their own affairs. The Frankfurt mob, however, did not acquiesce in the proceedings of the Parliament. A serious riot took place, August 18th, which was eventually put down by the military; but two members of the Parliament, Prince Liechnowski and General Auerswald, were killed. Riots and democratic demonstrations broke out at this time in many parts of Germany, but were suppressed without much difficulty. After the failure of the attempted insurrection at Frankfurt some of the boldest democratic leaders vanished to other places. Robert Blum,

Fröbel, and others betook themselves to Vienna, to fan the embers of sedition in that capital. A "Central Committee of Democratic Germany" published, October 3rd, a violent proclamation, repudiating and abusing the Frankfurt Parliament, protesting against its existence, and summoning a "General Democratic Congress," to meet at Berlin on the 26th. The assembly actually met; but in the interval the courage of the talkers had oozed out, and the congress made but a sorry figure.

The hopes of the German democrats were fixed upon Vienna, where alone the people had obtained the mastery, and were supported by Kossuth with the whole strength of Hungary. The higher and richer class had quitted Vienna in the summer. A Committee of Safety and the Aula, or university, ruled side by side with the Ministry and Diet. The Austrian Constituent National Assembly, which had been opened by the Archduke John, July 22nd, shortly before he went to Frankfort, had no influence at all with the people. The insurgent Viennese were directed by Kossuth. That leader had carried in the Hungarian Diet the levy of 200,000 Honveds, or national troops, and the issue of forty-two million gulden in paper money. But the aspect of affairs began gradually to change. The Emperor Ferdinand returned to Vienna after Radetzki's success, August 12th, and the Ministry began to take some bolder steps. In order to appease the people work had been provided for them by the Government; but the wages were now reduced, and though the labourers revolted, they were put down by the municipal guard. The Government dissolved the Committee of Safety August 24th, which ventured not to resist. The Servians and Croats had taken up arms against the Hungarians in Ferdinand's cause; though Kossuth pretended to fight against them, as rebels, in the Emperor's name. At the beginning of September Kossuth sent a deputation of 150 Hungarian gentlemen to Vienna to invite the Emperor to Pesth, and to request him to order back the Hungarian regiments from Italy to defend their country. Ferdinand, of course, declined these proposals.

The Archduke Stephen having laid down the office of Hungarian Palatine and returned to Vienna, the Emperor appointed Count Lemberg Governor of Hungary. But a party of Kossuth's scythemen murdered him on the bridge of Pesth, September 28th. No terms of course could any longer be kept.

State of
Hungary.

Abdication
of Ferdinand
and I., 1848.

Kossuth relied for support on a revolt which had long been preparing at Vienna, and which broke out October 6th. The Minister Latour was seized and murdered. The mob broke into the chamber of the National Assembly and caused an address to be drawn up to the Emperor, in which he was required to recall all the measures which had been taken against Hungary and all the powers which had been given to Radetzki. The Government arsenal and that in the city were stormed and plundered. Next day Ferdinand fled from Schönbrunn to Olmütz, where he found a defence in the loyalty of the people and the neighbourhood of Windischgrätz and his army. That general proceeded with 30,000 men from Bohemia to Vienna to form the siege of that city; in which he was assisted by Jellachich, the Croat leader, with 35,000 men, and Auersperg with 15,000. These forces completely surrounded Vienna, which, after a week's siege, was taken by assault, October 31st. Some of the captured leaders of the insurrection were shot, among them Robert Blum. A revolution now ensued at Court. Prince Felix Schwarzenberg became Prime Minister, November 24th, and on December 2nd, 1848, the Emperor Ferdinand I. abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. The motive assigned for this step was, that a younger Sovereign was required to carry out the necessary reforms in the State.¹

Reaction in
Berlin.

The suppression of the insurrection at Vienna produced a reaction at Berlin. On November 4th the King empowered Count Brandenburg, an illegitimate son of Frederick William II., to form a new Ministry. On the 8th the so-called Constituent Assembly was ordered to transfer itself to the town of Brandenburg, and on the 10th General Wrangel entered Berlin with a numerous force, without encountering any resistance. At the news of these proceedings riots ensued in various parts of Germany, which were not, however, attended with any important results. The Constituent Assembly was opened at Brandenburg November 27th; but in consequence of their tumultuous debates the King dissolved them, December 5th, and granted a Constitution by his own grace and favour. The legislature was to consist of two chambers, and writs were issued for elections in the ensuing February.

In Austria, the first care of the new Emperor was the re-

¹ Bach, *Die Wiener Revolution*, 1848.

duction of Hungary. That commission was intrusted to Prince Windischgrätz, who began the campaign in the middle of December. Kossuth ruled nearly the whole of Hungary, as President of a Committee of National Defence. The Hungarian Diet did not recognize the abdication of Ferdinand, but still called him King of Hungary, and represented Francis Joseph to the troops as a usurper. The Hungarian army was commanded by Görgey, while General Bem led the insurgents in Transylvania. As the Austrians advanced the Hungarians retreated, with the view of drawing them into the interior of the country during the bad season. Kossuth abandoned Pesth on the approach of Windischgrätz, carrying with him the crown of St. Stephen, and the Austrians entered Buda and Pesth without opposition, January 5th, 1849. Windischgrätz defeated the Hungarians under Dembinski at Kapolna, February 28th; while, on the other hand, General Bem gained several advantages over the Imperialists in Transylvania.

Reduction
of Hungary,
1849.

The state of affairs in Hungary, and the circumstance of Radetzki being still engaged in the siege of Venice, encouraged the King of Sardinia to resume the war against Austria at the termination of the armistice, March 12th, 1849. Thus Austria would have to deal at once with the revolted Hungarians and Italians, and it was considered that the disturbances in Germany would lend a moral support to the movement. Charles Albert's army amounted to between 80,000 and 90,000 men, while that of Radetzki was not more than 60,000 or 70,000. But the best Piedmontese generals were adverse to the war, and the chief commands were, therefore, intrusted to Poles. Radetzki defeated Chrzanowski at Mortara, March 21st, and on the 23rd inflicted on him a still more terrible defeat at Novara. Never was overthrow more speedy or more complete. On the 24th of March Charles Albert resigned his crown in despair, and fled to Oporto, where he died a few months after. His son and successor, Victor Emanuel II., immediately besought Radetzki for a truce, which that general granted on very moderate terms. On the 28th of March Radetzki again entered Milan. Brescia, which had revolted, and persisted in defending itself, was captured by Count Haynau, a natural son of the Elector of Hesse; who, from the barbarous cruelty which he exercised on the inhabitants, obtained the name of the "Hyæna of Brescia." A definitive peace was concluded between Austria and Sardinia, August 6th, by which everything

Overthrow
of Charles
Albert.

was replaced on the ancient footing. The Sardinians had to pay seventy-five million francs for the costs of the war.

War in
Hungary.

The Hungarian insurgents under Görgey were more successful.¹ The Austrians were defeated in several battles, Komorn was taken, and Vienna itself was threatened. Austria now accepted the aid of Russia. This step on the part of the Emperor Nicholas was not altogether disinterested. Many Poles took part in the Hungarian war, and he apprehended lest the success of the rebels in that country should lead to a revolution in Poland. It had been decided by the new Austrian Government that Hungary should be deprived of its former Constitution, its separate Diet, and nationality. Kossuth retorted by causing the Diet assembled at Debreczin to depose the House of Habsburg-Lorraine from the throne of Hungary, and to establish a Provisional Republic. Windischgrätz was superseded in the command of the Austrian army by Baron Welden; who, however, was compelled to retreat, and Görgey took Buda by storm, May 21st. But in the middle of June Prince Paskiewitsch entered Hungary at several points, with a Russian army of 130,000 men and 500 guns. The Austrian army had also been reinforced, and the command again transferred to Haynau. The Hungarian army was estimated at 200,000 men, but was not equal to the combined armies of Austria and Russia.

Overthrow
and flight of
Kossuth.

We cannot enter into the details of the Hungarian war, which ended with the complete reduction of the Hungarians in the autumn of 1849. Thus Austria preserved that Kingdom, but through foreign aid, and consequently with some sacrifice of independence. The division of the Hungarian army under Dembinski, with which was Kossuth, having been annihilated by Haynau, Kossuth, having first resigned his power into the hands of Görgey, betook himself to the protection of that general, August 11th. Görgey, who was no republican, loved him not; and Kossuth, instead of fulfilling his promise to give up the Hungarian crown and jewels, fled with them to General Bem in Transylvania. On the 12th of August Görgey surrendered by capitulation with his whole army of 23,000 men to the Russian General Rüdiger. Bem, having only 6,000 men, both he and Kossuth now fled into

¹ Léger, *Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie*; Yranyi and Chassen, *Histoire Politique de la Révolution de Hongrie en 1847-1849*; Martin, *Guerre de Hongrie en 1848 et 1849*.

Turkey, where they found protection, in spite of the Russian and Austrian demands for their extradition. Kossuth, and several other fugitives, afterwards proceeded to England. The Hungarian divisions now surrendered one after another. Görgey obtained, through Russian mediation, permission to reside at Gratz; but Haynau took a cruel revenge on other leaders of the revolution. He condemned Batthyani to the gallows, and went half mad with rage on learning that the unfortunate count had been shot at Buda. He caused Prince Wroniski and two others to be hanged at Pesth, and the Generals Becsey, Aulich, Leiningen, with several more, at Arad; some, by way of favour, he only ordered to be shot. The Emperor was obliged to recall him. This man was afterwards imprudent enough to come to England; when the treatment which he received at the hands of some of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins', the brewers, men, was well deserved.

Austria, after quelling the Lombard and Hungarian insurrections, was at leisure to attend to the affairs of Central Italy. In Rome, since the spring of 1848, the Pope had been compelled to accept the temporal and liberal ministry of Mamiani. After the success of the Austrians in Upper Italy Pio Nono ventured again to assert his pontifical authority. His principal adviser was Count Rossi, the French Ambassador, though an Italian by birth. Rossi subsequently became the Pope's Prime Minister, and endeavoured to restore things to their ancient footing; but he was assassinated, November 15th, when about to enter the newly-opened National Assembly. Upon this, the people, aided by the papal troops, as well as by the civic guard, stormed Pius in the Quirinal, murdered his private secretary, Cardinal Palma, and extorted the dismissal of the Swiss guards and the appointment of a popular ministry. The Pope, with the aid of Count Spaur, the Bavarian Ambassador, succeeded in escaping from the Quirinal, disguised as one of the count's livery servants, and betook himself to Gaëta, whither he was followed by his ministers. The Roman Parliament having in vain required him to return, at length proceeded to establish a Provisional Government, or Junta of State, consisting of the triumvirate, Counts Corsini, Camerata, and Galetti (December 19th). The Pope protested against all their acts as illegal. At this time, Garibaldi, who had taken service under the Roman Republic, entered Rome at the head of a large body of volunteers. In Tuscany, also,

The Roman
Republic.

the Grand Duke was compelled to accept a democratic ministry, which aimed at establishing a Republic. Insurrections took place at Leghorn and Genoa in December. On February 5th, 1849, was opened at Rome a general Italian Constituent Assembly, with the view of establishing Italian unity under a republican form of government. In this Assembly Mazzini played the chief part, and after him, Prince Charles of Canino, a son of Lucien Bonaparte. But at the time of the Pope's flight Prince Louis Napoleon, afterwards the French President, had expressed his sympathy for the Church, and repudiated the proceedings of his cousin; and General Cavaignac promised Pius that he would assist him. The Constituent Assembly began by deposing the Pope as a temporal prince, and proclaiming the Roman Republic, February 8th. The executive power of the new Republic was placed in the hands of the triumvirate, Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, who decreed the confiscation of all Church property. In Florence also, the Grand Duke fled, Guerazzi proclaimed a Republic, and was named Dictator.

After the overthrow of Charles Albert, however, a reaction commenced. The Austrians began to enter Central Italy; France and Spain also despatched troops to the Pope's aid; whilst Victor Emanuel, the new King of Sardinia, sent an army to reduce the Republicans of Genoa. At Florence, a counter-revolution broke out, and Guerazzi was compelled to fly.

The French
at Rome.

In June, Parma, Bologna, and Ancona, were successively occupied by the Austrians, who, however, at Rome, were anticipated by the French. A division of 6,000 French troops under General Oudinot landed at Cività Vecchia, April 25th, and a few days later, a few thousand Spaniards landed at Terracina. The King of Naples also advanced against Rome. That the new French Republic should begin its career with coercing its fellow Republicans at Rome, showed how vast was the difference between the Revolution of 1848 and that of 1792. Oudinot found a reception he had little anticipated. He experienced a signal defeat before the walls of Rome from Garibaldi's volunteers, April 30th; upon which the King of Naples withdrew his troops. Oudinot now procured a truce in order to reinforce himself, while Lesseps, the French Ambassador, endeavoured to cajole the Romans. When these purposes were answered Lesseps was disavowed, and, in spite

of Garibaldi's heroic defence, Oudinot captured Rome, July 3rd. Garibaldi succeeded in escaping, and embarked near S. Marinello for Genoa. Mazzini also escaped. He had previously been obliged to lay down his power in favour of a new triumvirate, consisting of Salicetti, Mariani, and Calandretti; who concluded the capitulation with the French. The Spaniards did not venture to approach Rome. General Oudinot, after his entrance, established a government in the name of the Pope, and thus *de facto* put an end to the Roman Republic. Pius himself, however, not relishing the protection of French bayonets, remained at Gaëta; nor would he consent to make such concessions as the French Government desired, in order to avert the unpopularity of the expedition among the liberal party in France. The Grand Duke of Tuscany returned to his capital July 29th. Venice, which had endured a siege since the summer of 1848, was not reduced by the Austrians till August 22nd, 1849, partly by bombardment, partly through the effects of famine. The Austrians were computed to have lost 20,000 men during the siege, principally by marsh fever. Manin, and forty of the most compromised of the Venetian Republicans, were permitted to withdraw.

Although Naples had been reduced, Sicily continued in a state of rebellion. In July, 1848, the Sicilians, at the suggestion, it is said, of Lord Minto, chose Duke Ferdinand of Genoa, brother of Victor Emanuel, for their King; but that Prince declined to accept the proffered crown. Prince Filangieri, with a Neapolitan army, landed at Messina, and captured that town after a sanguinary struggle, September 7th. In the spring of 1849 Filangieri reduced Catania and Syracuse, and on April 23rd he entered Palermo, thus putting an end to the rebellion.

Sicily reduced.

We must now revert to the affairs of Germany, where the German Parliament had by a small majority elected the King of Prussia hereditary Emperor, March 28th, 1849; a dignity, however, which, after a month's hesitation, Frederick William IV. declined to accept. His timidity again overcame him. He was afraid of some of the other German Princes, though twenty-nine of them approved the offer; and he also wanted resolution to wield the supreme power at a period of such disturbance. Thus vanished the hopes of the German patriots. After this step on the part of the Parliament Austria withdrew her representatives. The debates at Frankfurt were

Germany.

accompanied with disturbances in many parts of Germany. Riots first broke out at Dresden, May 3rd, where the King of Saxony had dismissed the Radical Chamber and established a strong ministry. At first the people had the mastery. The Royal Family fled in the night to Königstein, and a Provisional Government was constituted under the triumvirate, Tschirner, Heubner, and Todt. By the aid of Prussian and other troops the rebellion, however, was put down, May 9th. An attempted insurrection at Leipsic also failed. Berlin was not again disturbed, but riots, attended with loss of life, occurred in many of the smaller towns. On May 14th Frederick William IV. directed all Prussian subjects to quit the Frankfurt Parliament, and a similar order was issued a few days after by the King of Saxony. That assembly was also reduced, by the voluntary desertion of other members, to little more than 100 persons; who, deeming themselves no longer secure in Frankfurt, transferred their sittings to Stuttgart early in June. Here they deposed the Imperial Vicar, and appointed a new Regency, consisting of five members. But, as they began to call the people to arms, they were dispersed by the Würtemberg Government. The insurgents, under Mierolowski, held out for some time in the Palatinate and Baden; but towards the end of June the Prussians compelled them to disperse and take refuge in Switzerland. The Swiss Confederate Council, however, by a decree of July 16th, directed the ringleaders to quit that country.

The German
Parliament
dispersed.

War in
Schleswig-
Holstein.

In the spring of 1849 the war had again broken out in Schleswig-Holstein. Denmark was dissatisfied with the arrangement by which, after the armistice of Malmö, the Duchies had been conjointly administered under the presidency of Count Reventlow; nor were England and Russia willing that Schleswig should be taken from the Danish King. Denmark denounced the armistice, April 26th. The campaign commenced with the loss, by the Danes, of two of their best ships at Eckenförde; while on land they were shortly after defeated at Kolding by General Bonin and the army of the Bund. Bonin, however, was in turn defeated by the Danes under General Rye at Fredericia, July 6th. England and Russia now interfered, and dictated a fresh armistice of six months on the basis of the separation of Schleswig and Holstein, July 10th.

CHAPTER LXXI

NAPOLEON III. AND EUROPE

WHILE great part of Europe was thus disturbed, the new French Republic was peacefully consolidating itself. The clubs were suppressed; part of the *garde mobile* dismissed; Blanqui, Raspail, and other agitators were condemned by the Court of Assizes at Bourges. In the spring of 1849 Louis Napoleon conciliated the Church by despatching to Rome the expedition under General Oudinot already mentioned, with the collateral view of establishing in Italy a counterpoise to Austrian influence, and making the arms of France respected.

The newly-elected Legislative Assembly met at Paris, May 28th. More than half the Chamber were new members, and many who had taken a leading part in the Revolution were not returned. Among those excluded were Lamartine and Marrast. The Red Republicans and Socialists were furious; Ledru Rollin violently attacked the President's policy, nay, even sought to impeach him. The ill success at first of Oudinot at Rome favoured an attempt to incite a general insurrection. The Republicans of the Opposition, called the Mountain, consisting of about 120 members, invited the National Guard to make a procession, though unarmed, to the Assembly, in order to remind it of its duties (June 13th). But the President had taken the necessary military precautions, and Changarnier, at the head of the troops, dispersed the procession and destroyed the barricades which had been commenced. The insurgents were also driven from the Conservatory of Arts, where they had opened a sort of Convention, and named Ledru Rollin Dictator. Several of the ringleaders were apprehended, while Ledru Rollin only saved himself by flight. The Paris insurrection was thus suppressed, as well as another which occurred the same day at Lyons; the latter, however,

Insurrection at Paris suppressed.

not without considerable bloodshed. After these events the republican journals were in part suppressed, and the remainder subjected by a new law to more rigid control.

Plans of
Louis Napo-
leon.

In the summer of 1849 the President made several tours in the provinces. His policy assumed more and more a conservative tendency. Early in December he made some partial changes in the Ministry, and announced his intention to be firm; such, he said, had been the wish of France in choosing him. Many former adherents of the Bourbons now joined him, as Thiers, Molé, Broglie, Berryer, Montalembert, and others; but only in the hope that a restoration of one of the Bourbon lines might be effected. Most of the *projets de loi* which the President submitted to the Assembly were directed against liberty; such as higher securities for the journals, the leading articles of which were ordered to be signed, the limitation of the elective franchise, a severe law for the transportation of political offenders, etc. The Chamber tamely submitted, and voted the President, though exceptionally for a year, a salary of 2,160,000 francs, instead of 600,000. Out of this supply he defrayed the expense of the military feasts, in which he was toasted as the "Emperor." His plans were promoted by dread and hatred of Socialism, and his Government even became popular, because it insured tranquillity, with employment and prosperity as its consequences. But the basis of his power was fixed chiefly in the provinces, which now for the first time possessed more influence than Paris.

The Pretender, Henry V., Duke of Bordeaux, who in his exile used only the modest title of Comte de Chambord, visited Wiesbaden in August, 1850, where he was soon surrounded by the leading Legitimists of France. He was persuaded to publish a foolish manifesto. In the same month the ex-King, Louis Philippe, died at Claremont (August 26th). He left his family not altogether at unity. The Count of Paris, the claimant of the French throne, resided in Germany, at a distance from his relatives.

The ques-
tion of the
revision of
the Consti-
tution.

Another change in the French Administration took place in January, 1851, the chief feature of which was the dismissal of General Changarnier. It had been observed that in the reviews of the preceding autumn, all the regiments had shouted "*Vive l'Empereur*" except those commanded by Changarnier. The Assembly, however, began to show symptoms of resistance. A vote was carried of non-confidence in the new

Ministry, which was again changed ; and in February a proposal for increasing the President's salary was rejected. But this opposition only stimulated Louis Napoleon in his purpose. Petitions came up from all parts of France demanding a revision of the Constitution or, in plain words, an Empire instead of a Republic ; but they were rejected by the Chamber. When the Chamber was reopened in November the President again demanded a revision of the Constitution, in order, as he intimated, to regulate legally what the French people would otherwise know how to obtain in another manner. He alluded to the support which he might expect from the clergy, the agricultural and manufacturing interests, and above all from the troops ; and he hinted the influence of his name among the army, of which, according to the Constitution, he alone had the disposal. If the Assembly would not vote the revision of the Constitution, the people would, in 1852, when the term of his Presidency expired, express its new decision ; that is, in other words, he would be proclaimed Emperor by universal suffrage.

The struggle between the President and the Chambers continued throughout 1851, in which year the Ministry was repeatedly changed. A Government project to modify the electoral law of May 31st, 1850, and to restore universal suffrage, having been rejected by the Assembly in November, and a measure having been brought forward for determining the responsibility of the Ministers and of the head of the State, Louis Napoleon resolved on a *coup d'état*. The soldiery were devoted to him, he had surrounded himself with able generals who favoured his cause, and he relied on the disunion which reigned among his opponents. M. de Thorigny, who refused to lend himself to the proposed *coup d'état*, was superseded as Minister of the Interior by M. de Morny, a speculator of doubtful repute. One of the chief agents in the plot was Major Fleury, a spendthrift and gamester of ruined fortunes and desperate character, to whom were assigned the more hazardous parts of the enterprise, and who stimulated and supplemented the sometimes faltering courage of Napoleon. Maupas, another coadjutor, was made Prefect of Police. M. de Persigny, an attached friend of Napoleon's, took no very active share in the plot. To secure the army, General St. Arnaud, whose real name was Jacques Arnaud Le Roy, who had no troublesome scruples, was sent for from Algeria, and made

Coup d'état
of Decem-
ber 2nd,
1851.

Minister of War. The services of General Magnan, who commanded the troops quartered in Paris, were also secured. On the night of December 1st, the President, in order to divert attention, gave a grand party, during which the troops were distributed in readiness for action, the Government presses were employed in printing placards and proclamations, and arrests were quietly effected of all such generals, deputies, and other persons whose opposition might prove troublesome. Among those arrested were Generals Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, Bèdeau, and others; Messrs. Thiers, Roger du Nord, Victor Hugo, Eugène Sue, etc. The prisoners were carried, some to Vincennes, some to Ham, in the cage-like carriages used for the conveyance of persons sentenced to transportation. On the morning of December 2nd placards appeared upon the walls of Paris containing the following decrees: "The National Assembly is dissolved, universal suffrage is re-established, the Elective Colleges are summoned to meet on the 14th of December, the first military division (Paris and the Department of the Seine) is placed in a state of siege, the Council of State is dissolved." These decrees were accompanied with an Address to the people, proposing a responsible chief, to be named for ten years, and other changes. If the people were discontented with the President's acts, they must choose another person; but if they confided to him a great mission, they must give him the means of fulfilling it. Another proclamation was addressed to the army, in which Louis Napoleon reminded them of the disdain with which they had been treated during the reign of Louis Philippe, that they had now an opportunity to recover their ancient consideration as the *élite* of the nation, that their history was identified with his own by a preceding community of glory and misfortunes.

Massacre
on the
Boulevards.

On the appearance of these proclamations, the Deputies, to the number of 252, among whom was Odillon Barrot, finding the Palais Bourbon, their usual place of meeting, occupied by troops, assembled at the Mayoralty of the 10th Arrondissement, and resolved, on the motion of M. Berryer, to depose the President, and to give General Oudinot the command of the army. But they were all surrounded and taken into custody by the Chasseurs de Vincennes. Some resistance was attempted on the morning of December 4th, and a few barricades were erected on the Boulevards, but not of the requisite strength; and the troops, under General Magnan, easily over-

came all opposition. Yet there was a regular massacre, and hundreds of innocent persons, who were offering no resistance, were killed, while the troops lost only twenty-five men. Persons captured with arms in their hands were shot on the spot. Within a few weeks after, 26,500 persons, accused of belonging to secret societies, were transported, and several thousands more were imprisoned. The fear of anarchy induced the upper and middling classes to support Napoleon: the National Guard remained passive.

The Revolution was favourably received at Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. Napoleon surrounded himself with a consultative Commission, into which were admitted all the notabilities that were inclined to adhere to him. M. Léon Faucher alone refused to be nominated. Matters took the course which had been anticipated. Before the end of December Napoleon was elected President for ten years by nearly seven and a half million votes, while only 640,737 were recorded against him. He now released the adversaries whom he had imprisoned. General Cavaignac was allowed to return to Paris: Changarnier, Lamoricière, Victor Hugo, Thiers, and the rest were banished: but M. Thiers was shortly after permitted to return. Rioters taken in arms were transported *en masse* to Cayenne.

Napoleon
President
for ten
years.

It now only remained to prepare the way for the grand final step—the assumption of Imperial power. Early in 1852 the gilt eagles of the first Napoleon were restored on the standards of the army; the National Guard was dissolved and reconstituted on a new system; the trees of liberty and other Republican emblems were removed from the public places; the name of Napoleon was substituted for that of the Republic in the prayers of the Church. On the 15th of January the new Constitution was promulgated, which, though it professed to confirm the principles of 1789, was a return to the system of the first Napoleon. The Executive power was vested in the President, who was to be advised with still decreasing authority by a State Council, a Senate of nobles, and a completely powerless Legislative Assembly, whose transactions, at the demand of five members, might be secret. Napoleon confiscated the greater part of the possessions of the House of Orleans, and ordered that the remainder of them should be sold by the family itself before the expiration of the year. De Morny, with his colleagues, Roucher, Fould, and Dupin, who did not

Policy of
Napoleon.

approve this measure, resigned; but their places were soon supplied by other Ministers devoted to Napoleon, to whom he gave large salaries. At a grand review, held January 21st, he distributed among the soldiers medals which entitled the holders of them to one hundred francs yearly. The Universities were reformed, the Professors deprived of the independence which they had enjoyed, and some of them, as Michelet and Edgar Quinet, were dismissed. The grateful Senate voted the President a civil list of twelve million francs, the titles of "Prince" and "Monseigneur," and the use of the Royal Palaces.

Napoleon
Emperor,
1862.

In the autumn the President again made a long tour in the south of France, and was everywhere saluted with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" On re-entering Paris in state, October 16th, whither many provincial persons had flocked, the same cry struck his ear, the emblems of the Empire everywhere met his eyes. Napoleon now alighted at the palace of the Tuileries, where he fixed his residence. He directed the Senate to debate the restoration of the Empire, which had been so significantly demanded during his tour in the provinces; but it was to be sanctioned by the universal suffrage of the nation, by votes to be taken on November 21st and 22nd. On this occasion the votes recorded in his favour were 7,824,189, and those against him only 253,145. On December 2nd he was proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Napoleon III. Thus did he recklessly violate the solemn oath which he had sworn before God, and the plighted word of honour which he had given to the nation, in 1848, that he would uphold the indivisible Republic. And his inauguration as Emperor was blessed by the priests in the same cathedral in which he had uttered the oath to be faithful to the established Constitution.

Napoleon
III.'s
marriage.

The Constitution of January, 1852, was confirmed with some modifications. The royal title was restored to Napoleon's uncle, Jérôme Bonaparte; Generals St. Arnaud, Magnan, and Castellane were created Marshals of the Empire. All foreign Courts were assured of the French Emperor's wish for peace, in token of which a reduction of 30,000 men was made in the army. England and most of the European Powers acknowledged Napoleon's title; the three Northern Courts did the same, after a short hesitation, in January, 1853. On the 29th of that month Napoleon married Donna Eugenia Montijo, Countess of Téba: on which occasion he granted an amnesty

for political offences, and pardoned upwards of 3,000 loyal persons.¹

Meanwhile, in Germany, where the influence of Austria was restored by the extinction of the revolution, matters were gradually resuming their ancient course. The question of the German Constitution, however, still remained a cause of disunion. Austria, backed by the influence of Russia, succeeded in re-establishing the Federal Constitution with the Frankfurt Diet, as arranged in 1815. But Prussia was not willing to relinquish her pretensions to take a more leading part in the affairs of Germany. On February 26th, 1850, Frederick William IV. took the oath to the new Prussian Constitution, granted by himself, as of divine right, in the preceding month. The Prussian Government now endeavoured, in opposition to Austria, to form a new Bund, or Confederation, of which Prussia was to be the presiding Power, and which was to consist of all the German States except the Austrian. With this view a German Parliament was convoked at Erfurt, March 20th, which was attended by representatives from such States as approved the Prussian views. But distrust and apprehension prevailed, and after a few sittings the New Parliament was indefinitely adjourned. The King of Würtemberg, on opening the Diet of his Kingdom, March 15th, 1850, expressed himself so strongly against the projects of the Court of Berlin, that diplomatic relations were suspended between Würtemberg and Prussia. Frederick William IV. made another attempt to form a separate league by summoning a Congress at Berlin in May, which was attended by twenty-two German Princes, besides the representatives of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. At the same time, Austria had summoned the Diet of the Confederation to meet at Frankfurt, which was attended by representatives from all the States except Prussia and Oldenburg. Thus two rival congresses were sitting at the same time; one at Berlin, to establish a new Confederation under Prussian influence; and one at Frankfurt, to maintain the old one under the supremacy of Austria. The quarrel of the two leading German Powers was brought to an issue by some disturbances which occurred in Hesse-Cassel. Hassenpflug, the Elector's Minister, treating the States with contempt, attempted to raise taxes without their consent. This arbitrary

Rivalry of
Austria and
Prussia.

¹ See Taxille Delord, *Vie de Napoleon III.*

and unconstitutional act was opposed even by persons in the employ of the Government, and the Elector in alarm fled to Frankfurt. Even a deputation from the officers of the army proceeded to Frankfurt to protest against the illegal proceedings of Hassenpflug; to whom the Elector replied: "If you will not obey, take off your coats." Hereupon, between two and three hundred officers resigned their commissions. The seat of the Electoral Government was now established at Wilhelmsbad (September). The Diet at Frankfurt resolved to support the Elector against his subjects, and Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg prepared to interfere in his favour; while Prussia took up the opposite side, and moved a large military force towards the Hessian frontier. A collision appeared inevitable, when hostilities were averted by Russian interference and a change of ministry at Berlin. To put an end to these disputes, conferences were opened at Olmütz, and on November 27th was signed the Convention of Olmütz, by which Prussia virtually abandoned her ambitious projects, and subordinated herself to Austria. The Olmütz Convention was followed by conferences at Dresden towards the end of December, which lasted till the middle of May, 1851. In these debates, Prussia, under Russian influence, was induced to acknowledge the Frankfurt Diet, in short, to withdraw all her novel pretensions; and thus the ancient state of things, after four years of revolution and disturbance, was re-established in the German Confederation. The Emperor of Austria now withdrew the Constitution which he had granted to his subjects, the definitive abolition of which was proclaimed January 1st, 1852.

Convention
of Olmütz.

Prussian
policy.

Frederick William IV. of Prussia was at this time and till the end of his reign entirely guided by what was called the *Kreuz* party, or Party of the Cross. The chiefs of it were the Queen, Manteuffel, General Gerlach, the counsellor Niebuhr, and at this time also Herr Bismarck Schönhausen. Its organ was the *Kreuz Zeitung*, and its policy to draw closer the bonds of union between Austria and Prussia; to acquire the confidence of the smaller German Powers by moral influence; to look up to Russia as the protectress of monarchical principles; and to oppose a tacit resistance to all impulses from the Western nations. Austria, on her side, kept herself as much aloof as possible from all commerce or interchange of ideas with the rest of Germany by a prohibitive system of customs dues, by

passports, a rigid censorship of the Press, and other means of the like sort. In this policy she was encouraged by Russia, and as that Power also predominated at Berlin, it may be said to have exercised at this period a sort of dictatorship in Germany. But among the more enlightened and enterprising Prussians a growing desire prevailed for the establishment of German unity under Prussian supremacy. Although now submitting to Austrian influence, Prussia was undoubtedly the more powerful State of the two. But to consolidate her power, much remained to be done. The straggling line of her dominions from the Baltic to the Rhine, flanked on all sides by independent States, was an element of weakness. Above all, she needed and coveted some good ports in order to become a naval Power. But the accomplishment of these objects awaited the master-hand of a great statesman.

The reign of Frederick William IV. may be said to have virtually ended in 1857. In July of that year he was seized with a malady at first considered trifling; but it was soon followed by congestion of the brain, and ended in mental weakness. Having no children, he transferred, in October, to his brother William, Prince of Prussia, the management of affairs; who, in October of the following year, was declared Regent by a royal ordinance. Both Manteuffel and Bismarck, hitherto subservient to Austria, now began to oppose that Power, and the personal sentiments of the Regent himself were thought to incline that way. A scheme was at this time formed of two separate unions—one of North Germany, under Prussia, and another of the South, under Austria, which it was thought would do away with the rivalry and bickerings of those Powers. But the plan was distasteful to the minor States, as involving their subjection to one of the leading Powers. In opposition to it, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt would have preferred a union among themselves, thus forming a German Triad; and this scheme was advocated, but without result, by Von der Pfordten and Von Beust, the Bavarian and Saxon Ministers.

The affairs of Schleswig-Holstein had been again the occasion of anxiety and disturbance. A definitive peace between Denmark and the King of Prussia, in the name of the German Confederation, had been signed July 2nd, 1850, by

Prince of
Prussia Re-
gent.

Schleswig-
Holstein,
Treaty of
1852.

which the Duchies were relinquished to the Danes, but the rights of the German Bund in Holstein were maintained. The Duchies, however, renewed the war on their own account, but were finally reduced to submission to the King of Denmark by the intervention of the German Confederation. In the negotiations which ensued Denmark engaged that she would do nothing towards the incorporation of Schleswig; but at the same time it was maintained that the German Diet had no right to meddle with the affairs of that duchy. Nor was any such engagement mentioned in the subsequent Treaty of London, May 8th, 1852; and therefore the treaty was not conditional upon it, though no doubt it induced Austria and Prussia to sign. By this treaty, to which were parties Austria, France, England, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, all the dominions then united under the sceptre of Denmark were to fall to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and his issue in the male line by his marriage with Louisa, Princess of Hesse. The principle of the integrity of the Danish monarchy was acknowledged by the contracting parties; but the rights of the German Confederation with regard to the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg were not to be affected by the treaty. The Duke of Augustenburg relinquished, for a pecuniary satisfaction, his claim to Schleswig and Holstein.

Although Schleswig was a sovereign duchy, whilst Holstein was subject to the German Confederation, they were nevertheless united by having the same Constitution and a common Assembly. Prussian troops had occupied Holstein while the negotiations were going on, and to get rid of them the King of Denmark explained his views regarding a Constitution. The two great German Powers deemed his plans too liberal, and Frederick was invited to give separate Constitutions to the duchies. Thus the Constitutional union between Schleswig and Holstein was to be dissolved at the instance of the Germans themselves. The new Constitution was not published till October, 1855. The four States constituting the Danish monarchy had a general Assembly, or *Rigsraad*, consisting of deputies from each. It soon, however, became evident that such a Constitution would not work, and there were constant bickerings, especially on the part of the Holsteiners. The consequences of such a state of things will appear in a subsequent chapter.

In Spain, after the ill-omened marriage of Isabella, the Government of the country seemed mainly to depend on her licentious amours. Weariness of Serrano and a new passion for Colonel Gandara led to the overthrow of Salamanca's Ministry, October 4th, 1846, and the establishment of Narvaez and the *Moderados*. Narvaez compelled Isabella to observe at least external decency, and persuaded her again to admit King Francisco to the palace. Espartero returned to Spain early in 1848 and reconciled himself with Narvaez, but retired to a country life. Narvaez and the *Moderados* were in power at the time of Louis Philippe's fall, and were on a good understanding with the Queen-mother Christina, who had returned to Spain. The French Revolution of February 1848 was followed in Spain, as in other countries, by disturbances. The *Progressistas*, or ultra democratic party, attempted an insurrection, March 23rd, and again, May 6th, but they were put down by the energy of the ministers. A suspicion that the English Government was concerned in these movements produced a temporary misunderstanding between Spain and Great Britain. After the fall of Louis Philippe, Lord Palmerston had instructed Sir H. Lytton Bulwer, the English Ambassador at Madrid, to advise the Spanish Government to adopt "a legal and constitutional system." This interference was naturally resented by the Spaniards, and after some correspondence, passports were forwarded to Sir H. L. Bulwer, May 19th, on the alleged ground that he had been privy to some plots against the Government. This quarrel was followed by a suspension of diplomatic correspondence between the two countries, which was not renewed till August, 1850. A desultory guerilla warfare was also kept up throughout the year 1848 in the north of Spain by General Cabrera, the leader of the Carlists.

Affairs of Spain.

The continued success of Narvaez and the *Moderados* encouraged Queen Christina to attempt the restoration of absolutism. Narvaez was suddenly dismissed, October 18th, 1849, and General Cleonard appointed in his place; a person, however, so wholly insignificant and incompetent, that it soon became necessary to restore Narvaez. Other more secret intrigues against that minister were baffled; but a piratical attempt by the Americans in 1850 to seize Cuba led to his downfall, by showing how necessary the friendship of England was to Spain. Narvaez was dismissed January 11th, 1851, to

Spanish Insurrections.

the great grief of Isabella. Christina now ruled for some time with the new minister Bravo Murillo, but kept in the Constitutional path; till Napoleon's *coup d'état* in December, 1852, and Isabella's delivery of a healthy daughter, which seemed to secure the succession, encouraged her mother to adopt some reactionary measures. These, however, served only to unite the *Moderados* and *Progressistas*; it became necessary to recall Narvaez; but in December, 1853, Christina dismissed and banished him. The Queen-mother's thoughts were now bent on nothing but plundering the State for the benefit of her illegitimate children. Her conduct produced two or three unsuccessful revolts; but she was at length overthrown, and sent into Portugal (July 20th, 1854). Espartero and the extreme *Progressistas* having now seized the reins of government, were in turn overthrown by an insurrection of the soldiery, conducted by O'Donnell, July 16th, 1856. But O'Donnell's hold of power was but short. He was compelled to resign in October, when Christina and Narvaez once more took the helm.

Portugal.

Portugal, under the reign of Donna Maria da Gloria, had also been agitated by two or three insurrections, which were, however, suppressed. Queen Maria died, in the prime of life, November 15th, 1853, and was succeeded by her son, Don Pedro V. The new King being a minor, the Regency was assumed by his father, Ferdinand; but after spending some time in travelling, Pedro took the government into his own hands in 1855.

Rome.

Meanwhile Rome continued to be occupied by the French, under the protection of whose bayonets Pius IX. returned to Rome in April, 1850, and almost seemed to enjoy his former power. Under French guardianship attention to political matters was superfluous, and the Pope's thoughts were diverted to the more congenial affairs of the Church. He employed himself in propagating Mariolatry, and in 1854 he caused a great assembly of bishops to establish the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception: a doctrine accepted by the Council of Basle in 1439, but not hitherto confirmed by the Pope. Pius IX. celebrated its establishment by crowning the image of the Virgin with a splendid diadem, December 8th, 1854. The smouldering discontent in many other parts of Italy produced during the next few years no events worth recording. The oppressions of the Neapolitan Government

caused the French and English Cabinets in 1856 to break off diplomatic relations with it. But the tyranny of the rulers of Italy was only preparing their own punishment.

In France, the Emperor Napoleon III. went on consolidating his power. The first great political event of his reign was the war which he waged, in conjunction with England, against Russia.¹ There was an ancient prophecy that in the year 1853, when four centuries would have elapsed from the taking of Constantinople, the Turkish Empire would be overthrown. The position of affairs appeared to the Russian Emperor Nicholas a favourable one for attempting a long-cherished Muscovite project. The Turkish Empire seemed in a state of irretrievable prostration, and the Tsar proposed to the British Government early in 1853 a partition of the "sick man's" spoils, by which Egypt, and, perhaps, Candia, was to fall to the share of England. The offer was, of course, rejected; it was then made to France with the like result, and the two Western nations united to oppose the designs of Nicholas. The Tsar explained his views at this period in an interview with Sir G. H. Seymour, the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Nicholas observed: "There are several things which I never will tolerate. I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; and it shall never be held by the English, French, or any other great nation. Again, I will never permit any attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state: still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrangements, I would go to war, and as long as I have a man or a musket I would carry it on."² Here the only reason which the Tsar alleges against a Greek state is, that it would be powerful; that is, a bar to Muscovite ambition.

Turkish affairs.

Russia seized the opportunity of a dispute respecting the use and guardianship of the Holy Places at Jerusalem and in Palestine to pick a quarrel with the Porte. Nicholas, as protector of the Greek Christians in the Holy City, complained that the Porte had, contrary to treaty, allowed undue privi-

Menschikoff's message to the Divan.

¹ The best authority for this war is Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea*.

² See Alison's *Europe since the Fall of Napoleon*, iii. 366.

leges to the Latin Christians, especially by granting them a key to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem; also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the Sacred Manger; and further permitting the French monks to place in the Sanctuary of the Nativity a silver star adorned with the French arms; while France, on the other hand, as protector of the Latin Christians, maintained that all that had been done was only in conformity with ancient usage and agreement. Such were the pretexts sought for a sanguinary war. It was desired by Napoleon, and M. de Lavalette, the French Ambassador to the Porte, is said to have been the first to use threats. The Emperor Nicholas, after mustering the Russian fleet with great ostentation at Sebastopol, as well as an army of 30,000 men, despatched Prince Menschikoff on a special embassy to Constantinople, to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey, and the settlement of the question respecting the Holy Places, on terms which would have left the supremacy to the Greeks. Menschikoff purposely delivered his message with marks of the greatest contempt, appearing in full Divan in his great coat and boots (March 2nd, 1853). Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and M. De la Cour, the English and French Ambassadors, were unfortunately absent; but they returned in April, and on their assurance of vigorous support, the Sultan rejected the Russian demands. Lord Stratford, however, had succeeded in adjusting the question about the Holy Places, and the breach was caused by the Porte rejecting the Russian demand for the protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey. Menschikoff, after handing in an ultimatum which was disregarded, took his departure, May 21st, with the threat that he had come in his great coat, but would return in his uniform.

Attitude of
the Great
Powers,
1853.

The Sultan published in June a *Firman*, confirming the Christians in his Empire in all their rights, and about the same time the English and French fleets, under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, anchored near the entrance of the Dardanelles. Early in July the Russian army under Prince Gortschakov crossed the Pruth, and commenced a war which the Tsar wished to appear as a war of religion. The Russians, divided into two corps of about 40,000 men each, commanded by Generals Dannenberg and Lüders, exercised under this holy pretence all manner of plunder and violence in Moldavia and Wallachia, the hospodars of which principalities fled into

Austria. Meanwhile the Turkish army remained on the right bank of the Danube, and the Russians during the summer contented themselves with occupying the left. It was manifestly the interest of Austria that Russia should not be allowed to increase her power south of the Danube; yet she contented herself with joining Prussia in friendly representations to the Court of St. Petersburg, that both Powers would enter into no further engagements than to co-operate in endeavouring to maintain peace. France and England, indeed, the latter under the Government of Lord Aberdeen, with Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had relieved Austria from the necessity of drawing the sword on her own behalf. The Court of Berlin displayed as usual a base servility to the Russian autocrat. Nicholas had an interview with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph, at Olmütz, September 24th; whence he proceeded to Berlin, on a visit to his brother-in-law, Frederick William IV. He wished to form with these Sovereigns a triple alliance against the Western Powers, but succeeded only in obtaining their neutrality; and he engaged that his troops should not cross the Danube.

A declaration of war by the Porte, October 4th, in case the Russians refused to evacuate the principalities, afforded Nicholas the wished-for opportunity to proclaim himself the party attacked. He did not, however, push the war with a vigour at all proportioned to his boastful threats. The first trial of strength was in favour of the Turks. Omar Pasha having sent 3,000 men over the Danube, this small corps intrenched itself at Olteniza and repulsed the attacks of 7,000 Russians (November 4th, 1853). On the 27th of the same month France and England concluded a treaty with the Porte, promising their aid in case Russia would not agree to moderate conditions of peace. But an event which occurred a few days after entirely dissipated all such hopes. Admiral Nachimov, the Russian commander in the Black Sea, taking advantage of a fog, attacked and destroyed the Turkish fleet under Osman Pasha, while lying at Sinope, not, however, without considerable damage to his own vessels (November 30th). As the English and French fleets had passed the Dardanelles in September, and were now at anchor in the Bosphorus, the act of Nachimov appeared a wilful defiance of the Maritime Powers. This event excited feelings of great indignation in England; and, as was natural, still more so at

Action at
Sinope,
Nov. 1853.

Approach
of war.

Constantinople. It was now evident that the attempts of the Conference, which the four great neutral Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, had assembled in the summer at Vienna, to maintain peace, would be abortive; and, indeed, their proposals were rejected both by Russia and the Porte; by the latter, chiefly because of an article requiring a renewal of the ancient treaties between Turkey and Russia. The Emperor of the French addressed an autograph letter to the Emperor Nicholas, January 29th, 1854, to which, contrary to expectation, Nicholas replied at length, and though sophistically, with politeness. It can hardly be doubted, however, that Napoleon desired a war, with a view to secure his throne by diverting the attention of the French from domestic affairs, and dazzling them with feats of arms. A close alliance with England, moreover, would add stability to his government, and give his usurpation a sort of sanction. In February, diplomatic relations were broken off between Russia and the Western Powers; the latter declared war against the Tsar, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey, March 12th. Austria contented herself with placing a corps of observation on the Servian frontier; while Prussia, though recognizing the injustice of the Russian proceedings, declined to oppose them.

Russian
movements.

Towards the close of 1853, the Russians, under General Anrep, 50,000 strong, had attacked Kalafat, which forms a fortified *tête de pont* to Widdin, in the hope of penetrating into Servia; but they were repulsed, and suffered severe loss from the climate at that season. The Russians renewed the attempt, January 6th, 1854, but were again defeated at Citate; after which they withdrew from this quarter, on account of the Austrian army of observation. The plan to make their way to Constantinople by an insurrection of the Slavs, Servians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians, was thus frustrated. Some of the Greeks rose, but only to commit robbery and murder; and the Court of Athens was too fearful of the Western Powers to venture on any movement.

Prince Paskiewitch was now appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, and the attack was transferred from the right wing to the left. A division crossed the Danube near Silistria, another lower down, near the Pruth, and having formed a junction, advanced to attack Omar Pacha, who retired to Shumla (March, 1854). With a view

to draw him from this position, Paskiewitsch caused Silistria to be besieged. But Omar was too wary to fall into the trap; all the Russian assaults were repulsed, Paskiewitsch himself was wounded, and on June 21st he abandoned the siege, recrossed the Danube, and even the Pruth. The last step was taken in consequence of the attitude assumed by Austria and Prussia. Those two Powers had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, April 20th, by which they agreed to declare war against Russia if her troops should pass the Balkan, or if she should attempt to incorporate the principalities. An Austrian note, backed by Prussia, and addressed in June to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, had required the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia; and those principalities, by virtue of a convention with the Porte, were now occupied by the Austrians.

Meanwhile France and England were beginning to take part in the war. The allied fleets had attacked Odessa, April 22nd, and burnt a number of ships and houses, but abstained from bombarding the town. The English army under Lord Raglan, under whom served the Duke of Cambridge and other officers of distinction, had landed at Gallipoli, April 5th, where they found a portion of the French army already disembarked. Hence the allies proceeded to Varna, with the design of penetrating into the Dobrudscha; but the nature of the country and the fearful mortality among the troops, from the climate and cholera, caused the enterprise to be abandoned. To penetrate into the heart of Russia appeared impossible, and it was therefore resolved to attempt the capture of Sebastopol. The allied armies, in spite of their losses, still numbered about 50,000 men; and embarking with about 6,000 Turks, they landed without opposition near Eupatoria in the Crimea, September 14th, 1854. Nachimov, the victor of Sinope, though he had fifty-four Russian ships at Sebastopol, ventured not to come out and attack the allied armament. The forces of Prince Menschikov, who commanded in the Crimea, were inferior to those of the allies; but he had taken up a position on the river Alma which he deemed impregnable, and in his overweening confidence he had invited a party of ladies from Sebastopol to come and behold the destruction of the enemy. But the position was carried by the indomitable courage of the British, September 20th; not, however, without great loss, from having to assault the posi-

War in the
Crimea,
1854.

Battle of
the Alma.

tion in front; while the French, under Marshal St. Arnaud, who were to turn the enemy's left wing, contributed but little to the success of the day. The allied loss amounted to 3,479 men, of which nearly three-fifths belonged to the British, although their troops were not nearly so numerous as the French. The Russian loss was estimated at about 8,000 men.

Battles of
Balaclava,
and Inker-
man, 1854.

A necessary delay to bury the dead and provide for the sick and wounded deprived the allies of the opportunity to penetrate along with the enemy into Sebastopol. It was not judged practicable to take it by assault, though this might perhaps have been accomplished had it been immediately undertaken, and a siege in regular form became therefore necessary. Marshal St. Arnaud was compelled by the state of his health to resign the command to General Canrobert soon after the battle of the Alma. He died in his passage to Constantinople. The English army now took up a position at the Bay of Balaclava, the French at that of Kamiesch, and began to open trenches on the plateau on the south side of Sebastopol. The allies opened their fire on the town, October 17th. Sebastopol was also bombarded by the fleets, which, however, suffered so severely that they were compelled to desist. The Russians attacked the English position at Balaclava, October 25th, but were repulsed; a battle rendered memorable by the gallant but rash and fatal charge of the British cavalry, when, by some mistake in the delivery of orders, nearly two-thirds of the light brigade were uselessly sacrificed. This battle was soon followed by that of Inkerman, November 5th, when the Russians, with very superior forces, and in the presence of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, again attacked the British position, and were once more repulsed with dreadful loss. The British were most gallantly supported by their French allies. During this campaign, Admiral Napier, with the British fleet, accompanied by a French squadron, proceeded into the Baltic, where, however, little was effected. Cronstadt was found too strong to be attacked; the Russian fleet kept in port, and the British admiral was forced to content himself with capturing some merchant vessels, and burning timber and other stores. Some English ships also penetrated into the White Sea, blockaded Archangel, and destroyed the port of Kola. A detachment of French troops under General Baraguay d'Hilliers captured

Napier in
the Baltic.

Bomarsund in the Aland Isles, August 15th; after which exploit the allied fleet quitted the Baltic.

Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the two Western Powers, December 2nd, 1854, but lent them no assistance. Russia pretended to enter into negotiations for a peace at Vienna, only with a view to gain time, and if possible to separate the allies. A more active ally than Austria, though without the same interest in the dispute, was the King of Sardinia; who, in January, 1855, joined the Western Powers and sent an army of 15,000 men, under General La Marmora, into the Crimea. The allied armies had passed a most dreadful winter in their encampments. The British soldiers especially died by hundreds of cold, disease, and privation, while the clothing, stores, and medicines, which might have averted these calamities, were, through the almost incredible bungling and mismanagement of the commissariat department, lying unpacked at Balaclava. The just and violent indignation felt in England at this state of things produced the fall of the Aberdeen Ministry in February, 1855. Lord Aberdeen was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Palmerston.

Austria and Sardinia.

The Russians made an ineffectual attempt on Eupatoria, February 16th. The sudden and unexpected death of the Emperor Nicholas, March 2nd, seemed to open a prospect for peace. His successor, Alexander II., was more pacifically disposed than his father, and the conferences at Vienna were reopened. The recall of Prince Menschikov from the Crimea, who was succeeded by Prince Gortschakov, seemed also a concession to public opinion. The reduction of Sebastopol appeared, however, to the allies, and especially to Napoleon III., to be a necessary satisfaction for military honour. The bombardment of Sebastopol was, after a long preparation, reopened by the allies, April 6th, 1855; but the fire of the place still proved superior. A naval expedition, under Admirals Lyons and Bruat, proceeded to the Sea of Azov, took Kertsch, Yenikale, Mariapol, Taganrog, and other places, and destroyed vast quantities of provisions and stores which served to supply Sebastopol. A grand assault delivered by the allies on that city, June 18th, was repulsed with great loss to the assailants. A change in the command of both the allied armies took place about this time. By the death of Lord Raglan, June 28th, General Simpson succeeded to the com-

Death of Nicholas I., 1855.

Death of Lord Raglan.

mand of the English force, while the French General Canrobert had resigned a little previously in favour of Pelissier. Austria this month virtually withdrew from an alliance which she had never materially assisted, and by discharging great part of her troops enabled Russia to despatch to the Crimea several regiments which she had been obliged to keep in Poland.

In the
Baltic.

In the Baltic, Admiral Dundas, who had been substituted for Napier, found himself unable to effect more than had been accomplished by his predecessor the year before. His operations were confined to the burning of a few Russian harbours and an ineffectual attempt to bombard Sveaborg. But under their reverses the allied Powers drew still closer the *entente cordiale*. Napoleon with his consort had visited London in the spring, and in August his visit was returned by Queen Victoria. A meeting of both the Sovereigns at the tomb of Napoleon the First seemed calculated to obliterate for ever any remains of national animosity.

Capture of
Sebastopol.

The valour and perseverance of the allies were at length to triumph over all difficulties. An attack on the allied position by the Russians from the Tschernaja was repulsed with great loss, August 16th, and on the following day a terrible bombardment of Sebastopol was begun. By September 8th, the fortifications had been reduced almost to a heap of rubbish, and it was determined to assault the place. The French succeeded in capturing the Malakov Tower, while the British penetrated into the Redan, but were unable to hold it. The south side of Sebastopol was, however, no longer tenable after the capture of the Malakov; and in the night Prince Gortschakov evacuated it, passing over the arm of the sea which separates it from the north side by means of a bridge of boats. Previously to their departure the Russians sunk all their ships in the harbour with the exception of a steamer. The success of the allies was not, however, decisive. They made one or two ineffectual sorties against Gortschakoff's new position; and even had they succeeded in driving him thence, the Crimea still remained to be conquered. With the view of effecting that conquest, the fleets had undertaken a second expedition to the Sea of Azov, where they destroyed the small fortresses of Fanagoria and Taman, as well as another against Kinburn, to the north-west of the Crimea, which was captured after a short bombardment. But it was found impossible to take

Perekop, and thus, by obtaining command of the Isthmus, compel Gortschakov to retreat.

During this period a war had been also raging between the Turks and Russians in the Trans-Caucasian provinces, which our limits permit us not to describe. This year the remains of the Turkish army in this quarter were dispersed by the Russian general Muraviev. The English general Williams distinguished himself by the defence of Kars, repulsing repeated assaults of the Russians; but famine at length compelled him to surrender the city, November 7th, 1855.

The defence
of Kars.

The capture of Kars seemed a compensation to Russian military honour for the loss of Sebastopol, and facilitated the opening of negotiations for a peace. Austria now intervened; Prince Esterhazy was despatched to St. Petersburg, and on January 16th, 1856, signed with Count Nesselrode a protocol containing the bases of negotiation. These were: the abolition of the Russian protectorate in the Danubian Principalities, the freedom of the Danube and its mouths, the neutralization of the Black Sea, which was to be open to the commerce of all nations, but closed to ships of war; no military or naval arsenals to be maintained there; the immunities of the Rayah, or Christian, subjects of the Porte to be preserved. In order to deprive Russia of any pretence for interference with regard to this last point, the Porte accepted ten days later twenty-one propositions with regard to it made by the Western Powers and Austria, which included reforms of the tribunals, police, mode of taxation, etc. After the arrangement of these matters Conferences for a peace were opened at Paris, February 26th, when an armistice was agreed upon to last till March 31st. The Conference consisted of the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey. Prussia, having taken no part in the war, was at first excluded from the Congress, but by persevering importunity, obtained admission, March 11th. The definitive PEACE OF PARIS was signed on the conditions before mentioned, March 30th. Russia engaged to restore Kars to the Porte, and the Allied Powers to evacuate Sebastopol and all their other conquests in the Crimea. The integrity of the Turkish Empire was guaranteed, and the Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of European public law and concert. A Firman which the Porte had published in favour of the Christians was not to give other Powers a right to interfere in the internal

The Peace
of Paris,
1856.

administration of Turkey. The Black Sea was neutralized, the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan agreed not to erect or maintain any military arsenal on its coasts, and to keep only such a number of ships of war in that sea, for the maintenance of the necessary police, as might be agreed on between the two Powers. The Danubian principalities remained in the same state as before; and the Porte engaged that they should have an independent administration, with liberty of worship, legislation, etc. The Danube was declared unconditionally free, and a European Commission was appointed to superintend its navigation and police.¹ The line of the Russian and Turkish frontier was left to be arranged by delegates of the contracting Powers, and was finally determined by another Treaty of Paris, concluded between those Powers June 19th, 1857. The line in Bessarabia was laid down according to a topographical map prepared for the purpose. The islands forming the Delta of the Danube, including the Isle of Serpents, were now restored to the sovereignty of the Porte.

Treaties
regarding
Turkey.

A fortnight after the first Treaty of Paris, a short tripartite Treaty in three Articles was executed at Paris (April 15th) by Austria, France and Great Britain, guaranteeing the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; of which every infraction was to be considered a *casus belli*.²

To complete the account of these transactions must be added the Convention respecting the Danubian Principalities, signed at Paris by the six Christian Powers and the Porte, August 19th, 1858, of which the following were the chief provisions:—Moldavia and Wallachia, as united principalities, remained under the suzerainty of the Sultan; Moldavia paying an annual tribute of 1,500,000 piastres, and Wallachia 2,500,000. The principalities were to enjoy a free and independent administration. Each was to be governed by a Hospodar, elected for life, and an elective Assembly, acting with the concurrence of a Central Commission common to both, sitting at Tockshany. Individual liberty was guaranteed, and Christians of every denomination were to enjoy equal political rights.³

¹ Treaty in Martens, *Nouv. Recueil, Cont. de Samwer*, t. xv. p. 770 sqq.

² Martens, *loc. cit.*; Monicault, *La question d'Orient, le Traité de Paris et ses suites* (1856-71).

³ Convention in *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, vol. viii. App. p. 927.

CHAPTER LXXII

THE UNION OF ITALY

THE period which elapsed between the close of the Crimean war and the establishment of the German Empire at the beginning of 1871, may be said to contain events of more importance as regards the European system than even its reconstruction by the Congress of Vienna. These events are, besides the new Empire just mentioned, and a few minor occurrences, the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the absorption of the Pope's temporal power, the realization of Prussian supremacy, the decline of Austria, and the Franco-German war. In the same period occurred two events of vast moment in the history of the world: the Indian revolt and the civil war in America, which threatened at one time to break up and divide the great Republic of the Western Hemisphere; but these have no direct bearing on our peculiar subject, the European concert. The affairs of Italy first claim our attention, from their priority in order of time.¹

The period
from 1858-
1871.

The Austrian occupation of Lombardy and Venetia seemed still in the year 1858 to offer an insuperable bar to Italian unity and freedom. Whilst the possession of these provinces severed Italy, it also enabled the Austrians to introduce their

Italian
affairs.

¹ The principal works which may be consulted for the two following chapters are: Menzel, *Gesch. der neuesten Zeit*, 1856-1860; Idem. *Die wichtigsten Weltbegebenheiten*, 1860-1866; Idem. *Der deutsche Krieg im Jahre, 1866*; Becker's *Weltgeschichte*; Arnd. *Gesch. der Jahren, 1866-1871*; Rüstow, *Der italienische Krieg*, 1859; Idem. *Der Krieg von 1866 in Deutschland*; Idem. *Der Krieg um die Rheingrenze*; Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*; Rendu, *L'Italie de 1847 à 1865*; D'Azeglio, *Scritti Politici*; Vilbort, *L'Œuvre de Bismark*; Auerbach, *Das neue deutsche Reich*; *Tableau Historique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*, Berlin, 1871; *L'Annuaire des Deux Mondes*; *The Annual Register*; Seignobos, *Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine* (1814-1896); Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, etc., etc.*

forces into that country for the purpose of upholding its several governments; all of which, with the exception of Sardinia, were more or less under their influence. The sovereigns of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, were connected with the Austrian Imperial family, and leaned on it for support; whilst the Austrian Cabinet had also a powerful voice in the Neapolitan and Papal councils, and may thus be said to have dominated nearly all Italy. Without the expulsion of the Austrians, the views of Italian patriots could not be realized, and without foreign help they could not be expelled. The attempt had been made in 1849, and ended in disastrous failure.

Italian
unity.

Other necessary conditions for the freedom and unity of Italy were, that the Italians themselves should desire them, and be agreed as to the means for their attainment. Hence a difficulty almost as great as the presence of the Austrians. For though dissatisfaction at the existing state of things was a very prevalent feeling, opinions varied as to the remedy to be applied. The more ardent patriots desired republican institutions, but of these some would have been content with a confederation of independent commonwealths, whilst others aimed at an undivided Italian Republic. This last party, the most stirring and influential, was led by Mazzini and his sect, or society, called *La Giovine Italia*, or Young Italy; which, though itself a secret society, had now pretty well superseded others of a like nature, as the *Carbonari*. The men who adhered to Mazzini were dazzled by ideas, which had the fault of being utterly impracticable. He was for reconstructing society from its foundations, something after the fashion of Rousseau; nay, he thought that art, science, philosophy, in short everything in the world required renovation. Nor were his views confined to Italy. They embraced all Europe, and in 1834 he had drawn up a scheme of *La Giovine Europa*, "an apostolate of ideas," as he calls it, by which the whole continent was to be remodelled on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but he allows that he expected no practical result.¹

Mazzini.

D'Azeglio
and his
followers.

A few men of wiser and more statesmanlike views saw that the only hope for Italy lay in the suppression of such conspirators, who were not only abortive disturbers of the public peace at home, but also disposed European opinion against

¹ See Mazzini's *Life and Writings*, vol. iii. p. 30 sqq.

Italian freedom: for these politicians saw that the emancipation of Italy from a foreign yoke was simply impossible without help from abroad. This school, as was natural, had its origin in Piedmont, the only constitutional Italian State; and probably their plans for Italian unity were not unmixed with some desire for the aggrandizement of their native country. At the head of them must be placed Count Massimo d'Azeglio, and a few of his friends, as Balbo, Gioberti, and others. D'Azeglio's leading idea was, that no revolutionary attempts could succeed but such as were conducted in open day.¹ To the success of his plans the formation of a sound public opinion was necessary, and with this view he had undertaken in 1845 a journey through great part of Italy in order to ascertain the sentiments of the people; when he discovered that all persons of sense and respectability were disgusted with the absurdities of the followers of Mazzini, and desirous of a new path. His views were approved by King Charles Albert, who encouraged him to publish them. Such was the origin of his political writings. After the defeat and abdication of that sovereign in 1849 (*supra*, p. 99), d'Azeglio became the Prime Minister of his son and successor, Victor Emanuel II., a post which he held till 1852, when he was succeeded by Count Cavour.

Without this change Italian independence and unity would probably not have been achieved. With all his talent and good sense, d'Azeglio lacked the energy, perhaps also we may say the unscrupulous boldness, without which great revolutions cannot be effected. Of a generous temper, and devoted to literature and art, he was somewhat inactive and impractical. Cavour, on the contrary, was evidently a man of action, and from the time of his taking office, he may be said to have held the fate of Italy in his hands. A main part of his policy was to obtain for it the good opinion of Europe. Hence his commercial treaties with France, England, Belgium, and Switzerland; hence also the seemingly inexplicable part which he took in the Crimean war. It was, in fact, a well considered blow at Austria. Sardinia appeared among the European Powers at the Congress of Paris in 1856, and her envoy sat side by side with the Austrian Minister, Count Buol; before whose face he denounced the dangerous state of Italy through foreign occupation.

Cavour
becomes
Minister.

¹ Una cospirazione al chiaro sole.—*I miei Ricordi*, t. ii. p. 406.

His Views.

Cavour, though enterprising, was cautious, and awaited his opportunity. He appears to have early contemplated the establishment of a northern Italian kingdom by means of French intervention, and he prepared for future events by strengthening Alessandria, Casale, and Valenza, and by creating a great naval arsenal at Spezia. With regard to home policy, he loudly denounced the revolutionists and republicans. A national opinion, fostered by the means to which we have adverted, was now beginning to prevail over the sects, and the "National Society," organized by La Farina, served to recall many from Mazzinian affiliations. The last insurrectionary attempt of Mazzini, at Genoa, proved a miserable failure. With like views, Cavour conciliated Daniel Manin, the Venetian patriot. Manin repudiated as he did the plots of conspirators and the daggers of assassins, and pressed Mazzini to retire from a scene where he was only an obstacle to Italian progress.

The infernal machine.

Cavour thought that he might securely reckon on the help of Napoleon III., the insurgent in Romagna in 1831 for Italian independence, when a detestable act seemed to shatter his hopes. As the French Emperor and Empress were proceeding to the opera on the 14th of January, 1858, one Orsini, who after the Roman revolution had taken refuge in England, and hatched there his diabolical plot, discharged at the Imperial carriages a so-called "infernal machine," consisting of a number of gun barrels, fired simultaneously by a train of powder. Fortunately neither the Emperor nor Empress was hit, but several of their suite, as well as bystanders, were killed or wounded. England was denounced at Paris as having hatched the conspiracy, and Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, addressed a remonstrance, couched in moderate terms, to the British Cabinet. It was of course an absurd suspicion that the English nation or government should abet assassination, but the French had some grounds for it. In the preceding year three Italians had gone from London to Paris, with the design of taking the Emperor's life, but were arrested and convicted. Mazzini was proved to have inspired this plot,¹ and a member of the British Cabinet, Mr. Stansfeld, was his professed admirer

¹ *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, t. viii. p. 93. Mr. Stansfeld was in consequence obliged to resign.

and correspondent. The threats of some French colonels occasioned in England the establishment of the volunteers, and the whole affair a change of ministry, Lord Palmerston giving place to Lord Derby. By moderation on both sides, however, the rupture of the French and English alliance was averted, and the visit of Queen Victoria to the French Emperor at Cherbourg, on the reopening of that port in August, 1858, seemed to disperse the clouds which had gathered on the political horizon.

Strangely enough an event which threatened to upset all Cavour's plans served eventually to forward them. That Minister having loudly denounced in the Sardinian parliament the crime of political assassination, some confidential communications from Napoleon followed, and soon after a letter, inspired by him, containing the embryo scheme of an alliance between France and Piedmont. Cavour in consequence, ostensibly on a pleasure trip, procured an interview with Napoleon at Plombières, July 20th, 1858, where the terms of the projected alliance were arranged. They comprised the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy by the French and Italian arms; the erection of a Northern Italian kingdom of some eleven million souls in favour of Victor Emanuel, and in return the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. A marriage was also agreed upon between the Emperor's cousin, Napoleon, son of King Jérôme, and Clotilda, daughter of the King of Sardinia.

The
Plombières
Programme.

Napoleon, who had much of the conspirator in his nature, had formed this plot, for such it must be called, without the knowledge of his ministers. There was no legitimate cause of quarrel between France and Austria. The pretext put forth was Austrian misgovernment in Italy; Napoleon's real motive, it can hardly be doubted, was to add strength and lustre to his dynasty by the aggrandizement of France. Piedmont also had not for the moment any valid plea for a war with Austria. But her case was very different from that of France. The occupation of Lombardy by the Austrians was a constant threat to her safety and independence, as well as the chief bar to Italian unity.

Napoleon's
objects

Napoleon displayed his intentions on receiving the diplomatic circle on January 1st, 1859, when he expressed his regret to M. Hübnér, the Austrian Ambassador, that his relations with his master, Francis Joseph, were not cordial.

Such an announcement so suddenly and openly made filled all Europe with astonishment and alarm. Suspicion had however prevailed in some quarters of an approaching rupture. In the preceding year, Piedmont had ostentatiously displayed her enmity towards Austria, and reports of French military preparations had been rife in diplomatic circles. Not only the Sardinian official press, but the Chambers also had attacked the right of Austria to her Italian possessions, whilst she, on her side, had redoubled her military precautions, and renewed her ancient treaties with Italian States. Already before Napoleon's declaration, the Austrian troops, which had been largely reinforced, had taken up a threatening position on the Ticino.

Victor Emanuel's speech on opening the Chambers at Turin, January 10th, 1859, taken in connection with Napoleon's declaration, was calculated to remove any remaining doubt as to the true nature of the crisis. He exhorted the Parliament to meet coming events with resolution; he bade them remark the credit which the country had acquired in the councils of Europe, but that such a situation was not without danger, for if on the one hand treaties were to be respected, on the other, they could not be insensible to the cries of anguish directed towards them from every part of Italy. The marriage of Prince Napoleon and Princess Clotilda, January 30th, threw further light on the situation.

Views of
Napoleon
III.

Napoleon's views were set forth in a pamphlet published early in February, entitled "*Napoléon III. et l'Italie*;" which, though written by M. de La Guéronnière, was well known to have been inspired by the Emperor. It insisted on the necessity of reorganizing Italy, freeing it from foreign domination, and reconstituting it on the base of a federative union. Treaties were spoken of with levity as no longer answering the needs of the time, and it was proposed to submit the whole question to the judgment of Europe—Napoleon's favourite resort in difficult emergencies, or when he wanted to act the first part with a show of moderation. His speech, indeed, on opening the French Chambers, February 7th, seemed to breathe of peace. He affected astonishment at the uneasiness which had been shown; reminded the Assembly of his declaration, *L'Empire c'est la paix*, and in mentioning Austria, adverted only to some difficulties about the Danubian

Principalities, as if they had been the occasion of his New Year's declaration. When touching on the abnormal state of Italy, where order could be maintained only by foreign troops, he observed that it was not a sufficient motive for anticipating a war. And he concluded by solemnly declaring that his first impulses, as well as his last judges, were God, his conscience, and posterity.

But in spite of this declaration all Europe was convinced that war was imminent. England especially took the alarm and made some impotent attempts at mediation, which were answered only with rebuffs both at Vienna and Turin. In March, Russia suddenly proposed a Congress, and some negotiations on the subject ensued, when a hasty step on the part of Austria rendered war inevitable. She refused to admit Sardinia to the Congress, and required, as a condition of her own acceptance of it, that that power should immediately disarm; and on the 23rd of April she sent to Turin an ultimatum to that effect, allowing only three days for a reply.

The
Austrian
ultimatum,
1859.

Although Cavour ardently desired a war, his position was embarrassing. He knew that Napoleon III.'s character was fickle; that his policy had encountered great opposition in France, especially among the Church party; that Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, was not only opposed to a war, but even personally hostile to himself. On the other hand, the attitude of the rest of Europe was encouraging. Although no active help could be expected from England, her sympathy and moral support might be relied on. Russia was then unfavourably disposed towards Austria, and on friendly terms with the French Emperor, who had made advances to her after the Crimean war. The Prussian Regent, influenced by England and by the attitude of Russia, perhaps also by ancient jealousy of Austria, had refused to interfere in the matter, and denied that it concerned the German Confederation. The South German States, however, supported Austria, and ultimately, when war was no longer doubtful, the Prussian Minister at the Diet carried a resolution that the Confederate troops should be held in readiness, and orders to that effect were given for the Prussian contingent, but solely as a measure of precaution and defence.

European
sympathy
with Italy.

On receipt of the Austrian ultimatum, the Sardinian government demanded from Napoleon III. an immediate

Beginning
of hostilities

succour of 50,000 men. A small body already assembled in the south of France was at once embarked for Genoa, while others took the road to Turin by the Col di Susa. The Austrians, who had in Italy about 200,000 men, under the command of Count Giulay, crossed the Ticino, April 29th, though it had been notified to them that France would regard such a step as a declaration of war. By so doing they abrogated the treaties of 1815, and put themselves in the wrong with the public opinion of Europe. They occupied Vigevano, Novara, Vercelli, and two or three other towns without opposition, and with due diligence it would have been easy for them to seize Turin, an open town, and to crush the small, and as yet unsupported Piedmontese army. But though they had displayed so much precipitation in their diplomacy, their military operations seemed struck with sudden paralysis. Giulay showed the greatest indecision, changed his plans every three days, advanced sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left, bank of the Po, seemed to stand on his defence rather than to take the offensive. Thus time was lost till May 10th, when the allies had assembled in force.

The Italian
Army.

Cavour had made the most active preparations, and he accepted the help of the revolutionary party, except only the Mazzinians, whom he threatened to fire upon if they stirred. These irregular forces consisted of three regiments called *Cacciatori degli Alpi*, or Riflemen of the Alps, led by Garibaldi. The Sardinian army, amounting to about 80,000 men, was commanded by the King, having at his side General La Marmora. Napoleon III. took the command of the French army. Before starting to join it he published a proclamation denouncing the Austrian aggression, and declaring that Italy must be liberated as far as the Adriatic. He was visited at Genoa by Victor Emanuel, and next day, May 14th, he established his head-quarters at Alexandria. The Franco-Sardinian army now amounted to about 200,000 men.

The Italian
Campaign,
1859.

We can give only the main outline of the campaign.¹ On the advance of the allies, Giulay retreated to Pavia. In order to ascertain the position of the enemy, he directed a reconnaissance in force on Carteggio, May 20th. The Austrians

¹ It is fully described by Rüstow, *Der Italienische Krieg*, Zürich, 1860. With plans.

having been beaten in an affair at Genestrello, retired to Montebello, whence they were expelled the same day, after an obstinate and bloody fight. Expecting to be attacked on the Po, Giulay had weakened his force in the neighbourhood of Lago Maggiore; and Garibaldi took advantage of that circumstance to seize Varese, the Austrians retiring on Como, May 23rd. Four days after Como also was entered. The Piedmontese, under the King, crossed the Sesia, and attacked the Austrians at Palestro, at first with doubtful success, but, being supported by a French Zouave regiment, completely defeated them.

The attack in this quarter was intended to mask the advance of the French. Giulay continued his retreat to an elbow formed by the junction of the Ticino with the Po. On the 1st of June General Niel entered Novara, after a slight engagement; and on the 3rd the French began to cross the Ticino. On the 4th they gained the victory of Magenta, chiefly by a skilful manœuvre of McMahon, which procured for him on the field a marshal's bâton, and the title of Duke of Magenta. In this battle the Austrians are said to have lost 20,000 men. Their haste in evacuating Milan, without carrying off or even spiking their guns, revealed to the inhabitants that their masters had received a disastrous defeat. The municipality, except the Podestà, who fled, formed themselves into a temporary government, and sent a deputation to Victor Emanuel, to announce their annexation to Sardinia. On the 8th of June, that Sovereign, accompanied by the French Emperor, triumphantly entered the Lombard capital. Hence Napoleon addressed a proclamation to the Italians in general, calling on them to take up arms for the liberation of their country.

Battle of
Magenta,
1859.

On the same day that the Emperor entered Milan, the French defeated the Austrians at Melegnano (anciently Marignano), who now crossed the Mincio, deeming their position impregnable through the so-called Quadrilateral, formed by the fortresses of Lonato, Peschiera, Mantua, and Verona. Here they were joined by the Emperor Francis Joseph; and, on the night of the 23rd of June, they recrossed the Mincio, to give battle to the allies. Both sides were unaware of the position of their opponents. The BATTLE OF SOLFERINO which ensued was a kind of haphazard affair, gained by sheer fighting (June 24th). All three Sovereigns were present at

Battle of
Solferino,
1859.

this battle, and displayed great personal courage. Early in the day the Piedmontese on the left wing had experienced several repulses, but after the taking of Solferino by the French, drove the Austrians from positions which were become untenable. The loss on both sides, and especially the Austrian, was enormous. By the 1st of July the allies had effected the passage of the Mincio, and the Austrians retired into Verona.

Napoleon negotiates at Villafranca.

And now when the French Emperor seemed to be on the point of completing his programme, when the hopes of the Italians were excited to the highest pitch, and when all Europe was wrapt in expectation, Napoleon suddenly stopped short in his victorious career. On July 7th he despatched General Fleury to the Austrian camp, with proposals for an armistice, and on the 11th, after an interview with the Austrian Emperor, the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Villafranca.

Napoleon's conduct has been variously accounted for. His apologists allege his age—a little past fifty, the heat of the weather, the sight of so much carnage, and the loss of so many men. He is also said to have received news of the probable intervention of Prussia; but, though some Prussian corps had been marched towards the Rhine, they were not intended to take the offensive. Austria, apparently from latent suspicions, had declined Prussia's offer of an armed mediation, and called upon her for immediate action, for which Prussia was not inclined. What chiefly weighed with Napoleon were probably two circumstances, both of which might have been foreseen. One of these was the strength of the Quadrilateral, and the necessity for some tedious sieges. Another was the enthusiasm displayed in the Italian duchies for annexation to Piedmont. This formed no part of Napoleon's plan; and lest the French should take alarm at some dictatorships which had been erected in the duchies by Victor Emanuel, he was careful to inform them in an official note in the "Moniteur," June 23rd, that they were only provisional and temporary. But here it will be necessary to cast a glance at the proceedings in these States.

Revolt of the Italian Duchies.

The news of approaching hostilities had agitated the Italian duchies. In Tuscany, the government of the Grand Duke, Leopold II., was not oppressive; but he was bound to the Austrian court by kinship, as well as by treaties, which, to

the disgust of the Florentines, he was now called upon to fulfil. Leopold had just made a journey to Rome and Naples, undertaken, no doubt, with a view to concert measures of common safety; and his return was marked by a more rigorous Austrian policy. Many young men of the best Florentine families now set off for Piedmont, to offer their swords to Victor Emanuel; and a meeting of the principal citizens addressed a paper to the Grand Duke, expressing a wish for the independence of the different Italian States, and their union in a Confederation. Finding himself no longer master of his actions, Leopold quitted Florence for Vienna. A provisional government established in the Palazzo Vecchio now besought Victor Emanuel to appoint a governor of Tuscany, and Signor Buoncompagni, the Sardinian Minister at the Tuscan court, was ultimately made Royal Commissary. He formed a ministry of which Baron Ricasoli was one of the most distinguished members—a man of austere and resolute character, but of moderate political views. In the revolution of 1848 he had supported the Grand Duke; but, on his entering Florence, on his return from Gaëta, with an Austrian escort, Ricasoli, in disgust, renounced his connection with the Court, and retired to his domain of Brolio, near Siena, where he watched with interest the progress of Piedmontese policy. The Tuscans formed an army of nearly 20,000 men; but before they could join the allies the Peace of Villafranca had been concluded.

Duke Ferdinand V. of Modena was also connected with the Modena. Austrian imperial house. His government was despotic and tyrannical, especially at Carrara, where the Austrian major, Widerkhern, enforced martial law. Some of the inhabitants had been put to death, hundreds condemned to imprisonment or the galleys. The movement in Tuscany excited an insurrection in Massa and Carrara. The Duke fled to the fortress of Brescello, carrying off with him a large sum of money, the crown jewels, and the most precious articles from the public museums and libraries. He also brought away eighty political convicts, and cast them into the dungeons of Mantua. The Piedmontese government proclaimed the annexation of Massa and Carrara, May 20th; and after the battle of Magenta Duke Francis retired into Austrian territory. The tricolor was now hoisted, Victor Emanuel II. proclaimed, and the historian, Farini, appointed Piedmontese Commissary at Modena.

The mild and indulgent government of Parma, by the Parma.

Duchess Louisa Maria of Bourbon, as Regent for her minor son, Duke Robert I., presents an agreeable contrast to that of Modena. She desired to preserve a strict neutrality in the war, but such a course was impossible in a small State situated like Parma. Notwithstanding the comparatively popular government, the movement in Tuscany caused a corresponding one in Parma. Towards the end of April a provisional junta was formed, in the name of the King of Sardinia, and the Regent proceeded with her son to Mantua. She was shortly afterwards recalled, but her restoration lasted little more than a month. Finding herself compelled either to take part in the war, or to violate her engagements with Austria, she retired into Switzerland, June 9th. The municipal government, after the evacuation of Piacenza by the Austrians, proclaimed annexation with Sardinia, when M. Pallieri was appointed Governor of the Duchy. The further history of these States, and of Romagna, will be resumed after describing the PEACE OF VILLAFRANCA.

Peace of
Villa-
franca.

By the preliminaries the two Emperors engaged to promote an Italian Confederation, with the Pope as honorary president. Austria was to cede her possessions in Lombardy, except Mantua, Peschiera, and the territory east of the Mincio, to the Emperor of the French, who would transfer them to the King of Sardinia. Venetia, though still under the Austrian sceptre, was to form part of the new Confederation. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to re-enter their dominions on giving a general amnesty. The two Emperors would demand from the Holy Father some indispensable reforms.¹ The preliminaries of Villafranca were completed by the Treaties of Zürich, signed November 10th. The most notable difference is in the 19th Article of the Treaty of Peace between France and Austria, regarding the duchies.² It is there stated that, as the boundaries of these States cannot be altered without the concurrence of the Powers who presided at their formation, the rights of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the Duke of Modena, and the Duke of Parma (now mentioned for the first time) are *expressly reserved* by the high contracting parties. This is a variation from the engagement that they should re-enter their States.

¹ Document in *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, t. ix. App. p. 978.

² *Ibid.* p. 994.

Zara and Venice threatened by French fleets, disturbances in Hungary, and the defeats and losses which she had suffered in the war, seem to have been Austria's motives for making a peace which involved so considerable a sacrifice. Nevertheless, the campaign must be pronounced a failure on the part of Napoleon. He had not carried out his agreement with Cavour, and could not, therefore, claim the stipulated reward. The Lombards excepted, who had obtained their freedom, nobody was satisfied with the result. It excited great discontent in France; and the address of the Emperor to the Legislature (July 19th) betrayed an uneasy consciousness that he had but half performed the task which he had undertaken in the face of Europe. Cavour's disappointment was bitter indeed. An Italian confederation under Papal presidency, with Austria as a member of it, and retaining a footing in Italy, still left Francis Joseph master of the situation. When informed of the peace by Victor Emanuel, Cavour's rage was ungovernable. He immediately resigned, and was succeeded by General La Marmora and Rattazzi.

Cavour
resigns.

The revolted duchies showed no inelination for the return of their former masters. Of all the central provinces, Romagna, which had also joined the revolt as soon as the Austrians had been compelled by defeats to withdraw their troops from Bologna and Ancona, most dreaded the restoration of its former government. The Papal administration was, indeed, about the worst of all those misgoverned States. Hundreds of persons had been condemned to fine or imprisonment for what were called erroneous political ideas, a liking for innovation, want of attachment to the government, etc. The disaffection was almost universal, and shared by the highest class, including the Marquis Pepoli, grandson of Murat, and cousin of Napoleon III. An Assembly of an aristocratic caste, elected by universal suffrage, unanimously voted the abrogation of the 'rule of the Holy See, and annexation to Sardinia. But Victor Emanuel hesitated to accept the proffered dictatorship. Romagna was in a different situation from the duchies, and the question of the Pope's temporal authority might involve many diplomatic complications. But the King sent d'Azeglio as Commissary Extraordinary, who organized a government. Soon after, Farini being offered by the Assembly the direction of affairs, took the title of Governor-general; and, on the 1st of January, 1860, he united

Farini,
Governor
of Emilia.

the three governments which he held, viz., Romagna, Modena, and Parma, to which last he had been appointed after the peace of Villafranca, under the ancient title of *Æmilia*. The Pope compensated himself for the impotence of his temporal weapons by resorting to his spiritual ones, and the singular prerogative which he enjoys of consigning his enemies to everlasting perdition. He fulminated in open consistory a Bull of Excommunication against all the promoters, abettors, and adherents of the usurpation (March 30th), which would include the French Emperor as well as Victor Emanuel; but nobody was named. The bull was placarded in Rome; but it was necessary to post *gendarmes* to protect it.

Tuscany
annexed to
Sardinia.

With regard to Tuscany, Ferdinand, Leopold's son—who had fought with the Austrians at Solferino, and was now become sovereign by the abdication extorted from his father—proclaimed that he would adopt the national colours, uphold the Constitution, and recognize the popular rights. But the Tuscan municipalities voted the deposition of the House of Lorraine by a large majority. *Buoncompagni* was recalled in order that the proceedings of the people might appear entirely free, and on the 1st of August he handed over his authority to Ricasoli, President of the Ministry, who firmly repressed all insurrectionary attempts. A newly elected Assembly confirmed the deposition of the dynasty, and unanimously voted annexation to Sardinia. A military League was formed between the central Italian States, including an agreement to prevent pontifical restoration in Romagna. The army of the League was placed under the Piedmontese general Fanti, and Garibaldi contented himself with the command of the Tuscan division.

Napoleon
and the
Pope.

The turn events had taken was a source of much anxiety to the Sardinian government, and of very grave embarrassment to Napoleon III. He began to see that his idea of an Italian confederation under the Pope was simply impossible; that even the temporal power of the Holy See, which he was pledged to maintain, was in danger. The provisional governments, also, established in the duchies were of course only temporary, and it became every day more necessary that something decisive should be done. To relieve himself from this difficulty he proposed a Congress of the Powers which had been parties to the Treaties of Vienna: the proposal was accepted, and it was agreed that the Congress should meet at Paris in January, 1860.

Towards the end of the year Napoleon published a pamphlet entitled *Le Pape et le Congrès*, which rendered the assembly impossible. It contained some very absurd ideas. Rome was to be converted into a sort of large monastery under the Pope; and though the citizens were to be without political interests or passions, each of them would be able to say, "Civis Romanus sum!" Pio Nono was urged to acquiesce in the independence of Romagna, to make large political reforms in his remaining States, and to content himself with a nominal sovereignty at Rome. It was maintained very truly, but hardly in accordance with the keeping of French troops at Rome, that the less territory the Holy Father had to govern the less would his spiritual authority be exposed to vicissitudes. This line of argument raised a storm throughout Europe, and put an end to the Congress. The French Emperor followed up his views in a letter to the Pope, December 31st, in which he was advised to place the legations, which could be recovered only by force, under the vicariate of Victor Emanuel, and Europe would then guarantee him in his other possessions. But such views suited not Pio Nono nor his adviser, Cardinal Antonelli. About the same time, by replacing Walewski as Foreign Minister by Thouvenel, Napoleon proclaimed the end of all hostile diplomacy towards Italy. Indeed, between the signing of the preliminaries of Villafranca and the execution of the Treaties of Zürich his views had already begun to waver. In a letter to Victor Emanuel (October 20th) he had proposed several variations from the Villafranca programme, though the idea of restoring the sovereigns was preserved in the main. In the same letter he still adhered to his scheme of a federative union under the Pope; from which also before the end of the year he began to vary.

The ministry of La Marmora and Ratazzi, which had become unpopular, seemed unequal to the importance of the crisis, and on the 20th of January, 1860, Cavour accepted a recall to power. The vacillation of Napoleon encouraged him to attempt annexation of the central provinces. Napoleon now withdrew from the responsibility of the situation which he had himself created. He recalled the French army of occupation from Lombardy, and left Cavour to proceed at his own risk; only stipulating that in case the annexation of the duchies to Piedmont should be effected, France was to receive Savoy and Nice as the price. A clear breach of the stipulations of Villa-

Cavour
returns to
Power,
1860.

franca. There could be no doubt as to the wishes of the population of the central provinces, and to please Napoleon Cavour adopted his favourite method of a *plébiscite*. It was held with a favourable result on the 11th of March, and a week afterwards Tuscany and Æmilia were declared, by a royal decree, annexed to Piedmont. Elections were then held throughout the newly-constituted State for the first Italian Parliament. This assembly confirmed the annexations, but not without violent though ineffectual opposition, led by Ratazzi, to the cession of Nice and Savoy. By the cession of Nice, Garibaldi's birth-place, Cavour incurred his implacable hatred. The English cabinet, with Lord Palmerston at the head, made some abortive attempts to prevent the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. Even Austria refused to interfere, and, apparently from domestic difficulties, quietly acquiesced in the flagrant violation of treaties.

Thus the French Emperor obtained his share of the Plombières programme by means which he had neither contemplated, approved, nor promoted; whilst Cavour saw indeed the Piedmontese kingdom enlarged beyond his expectations, but with the annoying circumstance that Napoleon had not fairly earned the ceded provinces. For the present, however, he was prepared to acquiesce in what had been done, and to leave the completion of his plans to some future opportunity, when an unexpected enterprise of Garibaldi's—which, but for its success, would have been deemed one of the rashest and most foolish ever undertaken—opened out to him the prospect of a kingdom more extensive than he had ever dreamt of, even that of all united Italy.

Garibaldi's
Sicilian
expedition.

The population of Sicily was dissatisfied with the government, and ripe for revolt. On the 17th of April, a Sicilian deputation had requested Victor Emanuel, then at Florence, to take possession of the island, which, under present circumstances, he declined to do. But Garibaldi saw before him a magnificent field of enterprise. With the help of Mazzini he collected at Genoa a band of volunteers called the "Thousand," and on the night of the 5th of May he embarked them on board two steamers which he had forcibly seized. He landed at Marsala without opposition, though two Neapolitan frigates were cruising in the neighbourhood. As he marched towards Palermo his little force was increased by insurgents and by deserters from the Neapolitan army. After some skirmishes

at Monreale and Calatafimi, Palermo was entered almost without opposition, although there were more than 20,000 regular troops in the city and neighbourhood. The commandant signed a capitulation on board an English man-of-war. Garibaldi's progress was now easy. The royal troops, though far outnumbering his, retired into Messina, after making a last stand at Melazzo.

Cavour was alarmed as well as surprised at Garibaldi's rapid success. The hatred which Garibaldi entertained for him, had prevented any concert between them; but Cavour, though aware of the enterprise, did nothing to arrest it. He would have preferred a federal union between North and South Italy to annexation; but when he saw that Garibaldi would pretty certainly succeed, he directed Admiral Persano to help him with the Italian fleet. The state of the Neapolitan dominions promised an easy triumph. Francis II., who had recently succeeded to the crown on the death of his father, Ferdinand II. (May 22nd, 1860), had contrived in two or three months to alienate the affection of his subjects by puerile reactionary attempts. Garibaldi, crossing the Straits early in August, marched upon Naples without striking a blow. Francis betrayed helpless irresolution. Instead of opposing the invader, he tried conciliation by granting a constitution, offered to join Victor Emanuel against Austria, appealed to France and England for help, and on Garibaldi's approach retired to Capua with 50,000 men! ¹

Garibaldi
at Naples.

It now became necessary for Cavour to take some decisive step. Garibaldi, elated by his wonderful success, seemed to consider himself Dictator of all Italy, a title which he had already assumed with regard to Sicily and Naples. He talked openly of going to Rome and Venice; steps which would necessarily produce a collision with either France or Austria, perhaps with both. He wrote to Victor Emanuel demanding the dismissal of Cavour and Farini. Cavour knew that Garibaldi did not share the views of Mazzini and the republicans, though he had many of them in his ranks, and that he sincerely desired Italian unity under the sceptre of Victor Emanuel. Cavour let him know that the King and his government confided in him, but at the same time resolved to take the movement out of his hands.² To facilitate matters,

¹ See Mario, *Garibaldi e i suoi Tempi*.

² Cavour writes at this time: "Ils'agit de sauver l'Italie des étrangers,

he is said to have tampered with and bribed several of Francis II.'s officers and councillors, and even members of the Royal family itself.

The battle
of Castelfi-
dardo.

Garibaldi's progress could be arrested only by force, for he was deaf to all considerations of policy. But to use force it would be necessary to violate international law, by marching an army through the Papal States. Fortunately, the Pope, or rather his counsellor, Antonelli, had afforded a pretext for such a step. Rome dreamt of nothing less than reconquering Romagna, and with that view had formed a legion of adventurers of all nations, of whom the distinguished French general, Lamoricière, an enthusiast for the Pope, accepted the command. This force, which amounted to about 10,000 men, was a menace to Piedmont, threatening to crush the new Italian kingdom between itself and the Austrians posted on the Po. Antonelli having refused to dismiss it, Cavour seized the pretext to despatch an army through the Marches to arrest Garibaldi's progress. Napoleon had been previously consulted, who, as in the case of the annexations, left Cavour to act on his own responsibility. A large Piedmontese force, under Generals Cialdini and Fanti, defeated Lamoricière, September 18th, at Castelfidardo, near Ancona, into which city the French general retired; but as the Italian fleet, under Persano, began to bombard it, he was obliged to capitulate.

Victor
Emanuel II.
at Naples.

Fortunately, Francis II., by disputing Garibaldi's passage of the Volturno, October 1st, had arrested his march, and thus unwittingly aided Cavour's policy by giving the Italian army time to come up. Victor Emanuel had now joined Cialdini and accompanied his march. They fell in with Garibaldi at Teano, when the King gave him his hand, with the laconic address, "*Grazie*" (I thank you). Their united forces now marched to Naples, which the King and the Dictator entered in the same carriage. Garibaldi had exchanged his characteristic red shirt for a uniform, but he declined the offer of a field-marshal's bâton.

Proclaimed
King at
Thun.

Garibaldi, disappointed and disgusted, retired soon after to Caprera. Before doing so, in his capacity of Neapolitan Dictator, he proclaimed Victor Emanuel "King of Italy." But it was determined that the Two Sicilies should choose

des mauvais principes, et des fous ;" that is, the Austrians, the Mazzinians, and the Garibaldians.

their own sovereign by a *plébiscite*; and, due precautions being taken, Victor Emanuel was elected at the end of October. He declined, however, to assume that title till it should be conferred on him by a National Assembly. The first parliament of the now almost united Italy, assembled at Turin, proclaimed Victor Emanuel as its Sovereign, March 14th, 1861. Francis II. had already surrendered. He had retired with the remnant of his forces into Gaeta, where he was besieged by the Piedmontese army united with the Garibaldians. The siege was protracted through the equivocal conduct of the French fleet, which seemed at first disposed to protect the town. This proceeding, which has been ascribed to various motives on the part of Napoleon III., was probably caused by irresolution. It is certain that he disliked the annexation of the Two Sicilies to Piedmont, but he hesitated to strike a blow to prevent it. On the withdrawal of the French fleet, and consequent bombardment of the town by that of Persano, it capitulated, February 13th. It had made an heroic defence, during which the Neapolitan Queen, Maria of Bavaria, displayed remarkable courage. Francis II. and his consort then retired to Rome. Messina, the last place which held out for the Royal cause, surrendered March 18th.

Francis II.
loses his
Kingdom,
1861.

Thus Cavour's policy had succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. Instead of a kingdom of 11,000,000 souls, he had realized one of double that number. His success in North Italy was, indeed, of a very different kind from that in the South, but both showed the versatility of his talent. The kingdom of North Italy was the calculated result of a long chain of policy; in the annexation of South Italy, his merit lies not in any preconceived plan, but in his knowing how to use and direct the daring, but thoughtless, adventurer who had brought it about without his foreknowledge, and even perhaps, at first, against his will. The state of Europe favoured the operation, which was approved by some Powers and seriously opposed by none. They regarded the Neapolitan revolution as a *fait accompli*, the conduct of which was at all events better in the hands of a constitutional king than in those of republicans and anarchists. Napoleon, indeed, when appealed to by the Pope, made some show of displeasure, and for a time recalled his Ambassador from Turin; an example which was followed by Russia and Prussia. Austria, whose domestic troubles prevented her from inter-

Cavour's
successes.

fering, contented herself with protesting. The British Cabinet was not averse to the aggrandizement of Italy, and was satisfied with Cavour's engagement not to attack Austria, and to make no more cessions to France. Francis Joseph could obtain no promise of aid either from Prussia or Russia. The Italian cause was favourably viewed in North Germany. On the accession of the Regent William to the Prussian throne on the death of his brother, January 2nd, 1861, Cavour sent General La Marmora to Berlin to represent that the interests of the two countries were identical—the establishment of national hegemony.¹ But Bismarck had not yet appeared as protagonist on the political scene, and Prussian views on that point were not clearly defined.

Disturbed
State of
Italy.

Cavour had achieved much, but a great deal still remained to be done. Italian unity was not complete while Venetia and Rome held out; and their annexation promised to be a work of much greater difficulty than that of the other provinces. The Piedmontese rule remained to be consolidated in South Italy, where it was far from popular. When Victor Emanuel visited Sicily, his reception was the reverse of flattering. Great part of the Southern Italians were Garibaldians or Mazzinians. On the Fête of the Nativity at Naples, the *bambino*, or Infant Christ, was dressed in Garibaldian costume. Frequent risings took place in the provinces, which were encouraged by the ex-King Francis II. at Rome, and by the priests, who sometimes led them. The French garrison at Rome also indirectly encouraged, or at all events countenanced, the half robber, half royalist bands, which disturbed the Neapolitan dominions.

The Pope's
temporal
Power.

Of the Venetian and the Roman questions, the latter was by far the more difficult one. The liberation of Venice concerned only one foreign Power, and had to be left alone for the time. The annexation of Rome touched the views and interests of all Catholic States, and involved the formidable opposition of the Church. The more ardent Ultramontanists maintained that the independence and sovereignty of the Pope were necessary to his spiritual security; that he must be free not only at home from the domination of popular assemblies, but also abroad from the dictation of foreign Powers; and

¹ On this point Cavour remarked: "L'alliance de la Prusse avec le Piedmont agrandi est écrite dans le livre futur de l'histoire." Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*, p. 468. A remarkable prediction.

that for these ends the possession of sovereign temporal power was indispensable.¹ The first of these postulates would make the Pope an absolute and irresponsible despot; the second is impossible. To make it feasible, the Pontiff should be the greatest of all military potentates, for so long as there is a greater he may be liable to dictation. And, as a matter of fact, he had not been able for many years to hold his own territories without the help of foreign bayonets. The Austrians had held Romagna for him since 1848, and as soon as they evacuated it, the population threw off his yoke. At that moment he was maintained in his own episcopal city only by a French garrison. These evils were incurred through his temporal power; without which his spiritual authority would have been greater and more respected. His temporal sovereignty was a political solecism in modern Europe, and utterly opposed to the principles of modern society. The views still entertained by the Roman Court are shown in the Encyclical known as *Quanta Cura*, drawn up by the Jesuit Perrone, and with the annexed *Syllabus*, or list of errors, published in December, 1864. Liberty of conscience and of worship are treated as hallucinations; the independence of the civil power, the liberty of teaching and of the press, together with many other things which more enlightened nations regard as their dearest privileges are forbidden.²

Cavour's religious views were liberal, but free from that morbid hatred of the Church which characterized most of the revolutionists. His maxim was *Libera Chiesa in libero Stato*—a free Church in a free State, in accordance with which he held that the Pope's temporal power must fall. He suppressed some of the more useless monastic Orders, but he retained such as did good by teaching or by charitable acts, as the *Sœurs de Charité* and others. He had at first hoped to conciliate the Pope by friendly negotiations, which proved fruitless. They were renewed, with the knowledge of the French Emperor, after the march of the Sardinian army through the Papal territories. Pio Nono was offered a large patrimony, absolute property in the Vatican and other palaces, the maintenance of his sovereign rights, prerogatives, and inviolability, with freedom from State interference in the affairs of the

Cavour's
Views.

¹ See *La Souveraineté Pontificale*, par Monseigneur Dupanloup, Evêque d'Orléans, p. 30 sqq.

² See Zeller, *Pie IX. et Victor Emmanuel*.

Church. Antonelli affected for a while to listen, perhaps to get at the bottom of the Piedmontese plans, then suddenly broke off the negotiations.¹

His tasks.

To effect the legislative and administrative assimilation of so many very different provinces; to reorganize the army of the new kingdom; to fuse into a single budget those of six or seven States, while embarrassed at the outset by a deficit of 500 million francs (20 millions sterling); to allay the disturbances caused by Garibaldians, Mazzinians, and Neapolitan Royalists—such were the gigantic tasks to be undertaken in consolidating united Italy. It was necessary to dissolve Garibaldi's army, which was done as gently as possible. Some of the chiefs were made generals, while many of the officers accepted commissions in the national army. Garibaldi at Caprera was furious. He overwhelmed Cavour and the moderate liberals with abuse as traitors, and demanded a national arming. Ricasoli in an eloquent speech in the Chamber denounced Garibaldi. Garibaldi appeared in the Chamber, April 18th, in his red shirt and American cloak, and amidst violent uproar accused Cavour of fomenting fratricidal war. But he failed to shake the firm and constant mind of the great Minister, who persisted in his resolution to dismiss the volunteers. The King brought about an interview between them at the palace, and there was an apparent reconciliation. Cavour carried his point, and Garibaldi returned to Caprera.

Death of
Cavour,
1861.

This contest with the popular, but unreflecting, hero, gave a fatal shock to Cavour's health, already undermined by the multiplicity of his cares and labours. On the night of May 29th he was seized with a violent illness, and on the 6th of June he died. There will be few dissentient voices as to his merits. He was essentially the founder of the kingdom of Italy.²

Garibaldi's
Schemes.

Ricasoli, a declared enemy of the priests, now for a time became Prime Minister. Napoleon made him promise to undertake nothing against Rome, and French intrigues used the democratic faction, animated by Mazzini and led by Ratazzi, to overthrow him. Ratazzi then occupied his post. Garibaldi, meanwhile ill at ease in his retirement, was plotting the seizure of Venice and Rome. He held a great democratic

¹ Mazade, *Le Comte de Cavour*.

² See Stillman, *The Union of Italy*.

Congress at Genoa, in March, 1862, and assembled volunteer corps at Bergamo and Brescia, with intent to invade Venetia, but Ratazzi caused the greater part of them to be disarmed. In the following June, Garibaldi, relying on the hatred of the Neapolitans and Sicilians for the Sardinian government, attempted another insurrection in that quarter, with the view of marching on Rome. He landed in Sicily and passed over to Calabria with some 1,200 men. But General Cialdini, who had been despatched with some troops to arrest his progress, caught him at Aspromonte. His men were dispersed, he himself wounded in the foot, and carried to Spezia.

The repression of Garibaldi's attempt showed Victor Emanuel strong enough to maintain order, and on the strength of it he claimed to be put in possession of Rome, when he engaged to guarantee the Pope's spiritual headship. This demand offended Napoleon III., and occasioned a change both in the French and Italian Ministry. At Paris, Thouvenel was replaced by Drouyn de l'Huys, who was more favourable to the Pope; at Turin, Ratazzi was succeeded by Farini. It was the policy of Napoleon to keep Victor Emanuel weak in South Italy, and so dependent on him. With the same view apparently, the French garrison at Rome continued to connive at secret armings in favour of Francis II., and during two years there were constant skirmishes in the mountains, attended not only with much bloodshed, but also with the most horrible atrocities.

French
Policy.

At length, in the autumn of 1864, a suspected new coalition among the northern Powers induced Napoleon to alter his views. The evacuation of Rome would, it was thought, conciliate England and sow dissensions among the new allies—Protestant Prussia, schismatic Russia, and Catholic Austria. There was at that time some misunderstanding between the French and English Cabinets. England had given a flat refusal to Napoleon's proposal of a Congress in November, 1863, while the enthusiastic reception of Garibaldi in England in the spring of 1864 had caused the Italian government much embarrassment. On the 15th of September of that year a definitive Convention was concluded between France and Italy on the subject of Rome. Victor Emanuel undertook not to attack the Pope's dominions, and to protect them from all *external* assaults, while Napoleon on his side agreed to the gradual withdrawal of his troops from Rome, to be

Convention
between
Napoleon
and Victor
Emanuel,
September
15, 1864.

completed within two years. The formation of a papal army, recruited from various countries, sufficient to maintain the Pope's authority without menacing Italy, was allowed. As the French Emperor demanded some material guarantee, the removal of the Italian capital from Turin to Florence within six months was arranged by a protocol appended to the Convention.¹ The news of the change of capital caused a riot at Turin, accompanied with considerable loss of life. To appease these disturbances the ministry was dismissed, and La Marmora, of Piedmontese origin, made President of the Council. The riots, however, were renewed in January, 1865; it is supposed at the instigation of Mazzini. There were cries of "*Abasso il re*," and on the 3rd of February Victor Emanuel left Turin for Florence.

Position of
Italy.

Italy was now gradually taking her place among the great European Powers. By the end of 1865 she had been recognized by most of them. In the autumn of 1864 Austria herself had proposed to do so on the base of *uti possidetis*, on the sole condition that she should not be attacked for a certain number of years. Thus, for the sake of her material interests, she was prepared to abandon not only her allies the Italian potentates, but even the Holy Father himself. But public opinion in Italy would not have allowed the formal abandonment of Venice. The internal unity of Italy was confirmed January 1st, 1866, when the new codes of law came into operation throughout the annexed provinces. The principal features of them were civil marriages—a blow at the clergy—and the equal division of property among children of both sexes—a blow at the aristocracy. In the foreign policy of the newly-created nation the first most remarkable features are her treaties with Prussia, first by joining the *Zollverein* towards the end of 1865, and on the 10th of April of the next year by that momentous alliance which was attended with such prodigious effects for both countries. But to explain these matters we must take a retrospect of German affairs, which we have brought down in the preceding chapter to the establishment of the Prussian Regency in 1858.

Retrospect
of German
Affairs.

The internal troubles of Austria—one of the principal causes of the loss of Lombardy—became after that event matter for serious consideration with the imperial Cabinet.

¹ Text of the Convention in *Annuaire*, xiii. App. p. 958.

Financial affairs, chiefly intrusted to Jews, were badly managed, and the debt continually increased. The army, administered by incompetent persons, daily deteriorated. The superior officers adopted a brutal tone towards their subalterns, called the "Russian manner," and these again used the cane unsparingly on the men. An open contempt was displayed for religion, and profanity became the tone of the Court. To these sources of weakness and decay were added open discontent, and even rebellion, in some of the various provinces constituting the ill-cemented Austrian empire.

These latter evils were the most pressing. To meet them reforms were made in the various provincial *Landstage*, or parliaments, and a new constitution was framed for the whole empire, which was proclaimed February 26th, 1861. The Emperor opened the new *Reichstag*, or imperial parliament, May 1st. It consisted of an Upper and Lower House, the first named for life by the Emperor, while the second was composed of 343 delegates from the different provincial *Landstage*. Toleration was held out for Protestants, which pleased many of the Hungarians, but the Archbishops, who commonly obeyed in silence, ventured to express a hope that the Catholic character of the monarchy would not be destroyed; and the Tyrolese, who are papists, refused to carry out the new regulations.

New
Austrian
Constitu-
tion.

It soon became evident that the new constitution would not work. The Hungarians and Croats refused to recognize it, and sent no delegates to the *Reichstag*. Bohemia quietly enjoyed these quarrels, while the Magyars, under Deak's leadership, resolved to recover the national rights which they had lost by their rebellion in 1849; but, for fear of Russia, they offered only a passive resistance. Kossuth, indeed, in London, and Garibaldi in Italy, agitated for an insurrection in Venetia and Dalmatia, to be followed by a rising in Hungary, but without effect. General Benedek, a Hungarian by birth, was sent to conciliate his fellow-countrymen, but neither his persuasions nor his threats had any result. Addresses poured in demanding the constitution of 1848, and Francis Joseph at length consented to the assembling of a Hungarian Parliament, which was opened April 2nd, 1861.

Austria and
Hungary.

The programme of the constitutional party was that Hungary was no Austrian province, but a substantive kingdom, having only a personal union with Austria; that the abdicated

Emperor Ferdinand, now residing at Prague, their lawful king, was not justified in having transferred the crown of St. Stephen to his nephew without the consent of the Hungarian nation; but if he would declare his abdication, and if Francis Joseph would submit to be crowned after the ancient fashion, no further resistance would be offered. The Emperor would not listen to these conditions. He dismissed the Assembly, sent large bodies of troops into Hungary, and collected the taxes by force.

Prussia.

Whilst Austria thus presented all the symptoms of decay, Prussia, her younger and more vigorous rival, was preparing for the struggle for supremacy. Under the weak reign of Frederick William IV., and the administration of what was called the *Kreuz* party, she had considerably retrograded. The accession of the Prince of Prussia to the Regency threw somewhat more vigour into the counsels of the Berlin Cabinet. But some years were still to elapse during which Prussia submitted, for the most part, to follow in the wake of Austria. The programme of the Regent and of the new Ministry under Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a puisne prince of the royal house, was to discountenance all liberal revolutions, to respect Roman Catholic rights, but, at the same time, to cherish the evangelical union, to patronize learning and science, and, above all, to bestow especial care upon the army. The accession of the Regent to the Prussian throne, by the death of his brother, January 2nd, 1861, and the deaths in the same year of General Von Gerlach and Privy Councillor Stahl, two of the leaders of the *Kreuz* party, did not at first cause much alteration in the policy of the Berlin Cabinet. William I. was deeply imbued with feudal notions, and the idea of sovereignty by the grace of God. Although of the seven preceding kings of his house, the first only, Frederick I., had been crowned, William celebrated his coronation with great pomp at Königsberg, October 18th. Taking the crown from the altar, he placed it on his own head, and then on his queen's. In his address to the Parliament he observed: "The rulers of Prussia receive their crown from God; therein lies its holiness, which is unassailable." But he failed not to intimate that he would listen to their advice. This speech, taken in connection with some measures of the Cabinet, was regarded by the Liberals as reactionary, and threatening a return to absolutism. That party had a ma-

Accession
of William
I.

jority in the Parliament which assembled in January, 1862, and offered so violent an opposition that Prince Hohenzollern retired in favour of Prince Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen. A new Parliament proved equally refractory. The *Fortschritt* party, as it was called, or Party of Progress, was, indeed, pleased with the recognition of Italy, and with the treaty between the *Zollverein* and France, effected in March, 1862; but, in other respects, the parliamentary opposition was just as violent as before. The new Ministry was in turn compelled to retire, when the King named Herr Bismarck Schönhausen President of the Council, or Prime Minister, who from this moment may be said to have guided the destinies of Germany as Cavour had previously done those of Italy.

To compare Bismarck with Cavour implies that their work was a good deal alike; and, indeed, the state of Germany at this time bore considerable resemblance to that of Italy. It presents the picture of a struggle for national unity achieved at last, as in Italy, by its chief military Power, under the guidance of a remarkable statesman. In both countries these Powers were ruled by patriotic and energetic sovereigns, soldiers by profession. But some differences must be observed. Germany had already a federative union, and was not made up, like Italy, of a number of wholly independent States. In Germany, again, the struggle was entirely national. There was no foreigner to be expelled, no need of foreign aid. But the most striking point of difference is that Germany contained two great military Powers, by whose rivalry, and the ultimate ascendancy of one of them, unity was effected. Besides these two Powers, there was a number of minor States, fearful of losing the prerogatives conferred upon them by the treaties of Vienna, and as they could not stand alone, for the most part satellites of Austria. But their safety chiefly lay in keeping both Austria and Prussia from becoming predominant, and in fomenting the mutual hatred and jealousy of those Powers. Hence these middle States were the chief obstruction to German unity. At one time, as we have said, under the leadership of Von Beust, the Saxon Minister, they entertained the idea of effecting a union among themselves, and thus forming a German Triad, which would have made confusion worse confounded. During the period under review, therefore, the interest of German history centres in the disputes between Austria and Prussia. These concerned, of

Bismarck
becomes
minister.

course, questions relating to the Confederation, such as the fortifying and garrisoning of federal fortresses, like Ulm and Rastadt, the government of electoral Hesse, and questions of the like nature.

The Nationalverein founded.

The war in Italy and peace of Villafranca had much influence on German affairs. They not only widened the breach between Austria and Prussia—the former Power complaining that she had been shamefully abandoned—but also caused a great national movement, by having displayed the impotence of the Confederation. One of their first effects was the foundation of the *Nationalverein*, or National Association, formed at Eisenach towards the end of July, 1859, by the radical Hanoverian, Baron Benigsen, and Herr Metz, of Darmstadt, and patronized by Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Its programme was to substitute for the *Bund* the German Constitution of 1848—a German Parliament constituent and sovereign, and Germany united under the hegemony of Prussia, with Austria excluded. This association was soon after opposed by another, called the *Reformverein*, founded in 1862 by what was called the Great German Party. The national interests were the watchword of both; but the first was for Prussia, the second for Austria. Neither of them, however, did anything but talk.

The Reformverein.

Bismarck and the Army.

The history of the German *Bund*, as Professor Von Sybel has remarked, is the history of a protracted malady, which began with its birth in 1815. By means of its Diet, a Congress of Princes, manipulated with consummate skill by Metternich, Austria and the reactionary party had triumphed for a long series of years, and even at Berlin. Bismarck himself, though a Prussian *Junker*, had been, as we have said, a member of the *Kreuz* party, and an advocate of Austrian supremacy. His experience as Prussian envoy at the Diet, and subsequent ambassadorships to Paris and St. Petersburg, altered and extended his views. He saw that Germany, to be strong, must be reconstructed, that Prussia alone was equal to the task, but not before she had been strengthened. Soon after his accession to power, he is said to have remarked that the questions which agitated the German Fatherland could not be decided by speeches and votes, but by blood and iron. With this view, assisted by Von Roon, the Minister at War, he reformed and increased the army. Hence the Parliamentary opposition to which we have alluded. The de-

mocrats hated nothing so much as a strong government, and Bismarck was assailed with the most virulent abuse. But he persisted in his plans, in which he was supported by King William I., who declared in the Chamber that the reformation of the army was his own work, that he was proud of it, and would carry it through.

The *Zollverein*, or Customs Union, formed by Prussia, enabled her to speak with authority. Austria was excluded from the treaty with France already mentioned, and to the minor States she intimated that if they would not join it they must quit the *Zollverein*. The demand of Austria for admittance was supported by these States, who threatened to quit the *Zollverein* in case of refusal. But Prussia persisted, well knowing that the benefits which they derived from it were greater than anything that Austria could offer to them. This of course inflamed the quarrel between the two great Powers. Austria now proposed to several of the States a separate Parliament for general affairs, to sit side by side with the Diet. The proposal was supported by the four German Kings and several Princes. Bismarck now adopted a high tone. He declared that Prussia would not bow to a majority of the Diet, and was not bound to do so by the Federal Constitution. Austria was further incensed by a remark ascribed to Bismarck, that she should remove her capital to Ofen; which, indeed, would have been more central for her dominions.

The Zollverein.

The unpopularity of the home government of Prussia seemed to offer an opportunity for attack. After some secret negotiations, Austria invited the minor German Sovereigns to a *Fürstentag* at Frankfurt, August, 1863. William I. was kept in the dark till the last hour, and refused to attend. In this Assembly, Austria proposed a new constitution, which, as it never came to anything, we need not detail. Its main features were, a sort of Directory of five Princes, with the Austrian Emperor as President, superior to the *Bund*; a confederate tribunal, and a national parliament, but of a very circumscribed sort, in which Prussia was sure to be outvoted. This, it was thought, if carried into effect, would tie Prussia's hands; if she rejected it, she might be denounced as the enemy of German unity. Prussia steadily rejected the importunities of the minor Sovereigns to attend the meeting, and the project came to nothing.

Unpopularity of Prussian Government.

Austria now changed her front. Count Rechberg, her

Treaty
between
Prussia and
Russia.

Minister, determined on conciliating Prussia. This unexpected union of the two Powers staggered the middle States, neutralized the power of the Diet, and paralyzed the patriotic associations. But the *Nationalverein* had already abandoned the cause of Prussia on account of the defensive treaty which she had made with Russia (February 8th, 1863), on the breaking out of the Polish insurrection. The German democrats represented this treaty as an offensive one, and the *Nationalverein* resolved to abandon its former Gotha programme so long as Bismarck should be Minister. The Prussian Chamber displayed the most violent animosity towards the Ministry, and the historian, Von Sybel, took a leading part in the attacks upon it. The President of the Assembly sometimes prevented the Ministers from speaking, who declared that they would not again enter the House unless freedom of speech were guaranteed to them. And, supported by the King, they set at defiance the contumacious opposition of the Chamber.

Polish
Insurrec-
tion, 1863.

The POLISH INSURRECTION just adverted to broke out at the beginning of 1863. Grave symptoms of discontent had manifested themselves in Poland a year or two before on the occasion of the police having interfered with an anniversary celebration of the Polish victory over the Russians at Grochow in 1831. Some lives were lost in the riot which ensued; this rankled in the minds of the Poles; a general mourning was adopted, even by the women, and other tokens of discontent were displayed. The insurrection came at a very inopportune moment for Russia. She was again looking after the "sick man's" property, and had been stirring up revolt in the Christian provinces of Turkey, which was to break out in 1863, but did not take effect. Great quantities of arms had been sent into Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia; the Herzegovina and Montenegro were in open insurrection; and in Greece the revolution was preparing which hurled Otho from the throne.¹ In these circumstances an attempt was made to conciliate the Poles. For this purpose the Emperor Alexander sent his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, to Warsaw, in June, 1862. Constantine had been recalled from his travels in the preceding year on account of some disturbances in Russia, and particularly at St. Petersburg. He was bold and energetic,

¹ February 16th, 1863. He was succeeded by George of Denmark in October.

and the partisan of a vigorous autocracy in Russia ; but at the same time, by his travels in France and England, he had imbibed many of the liberal ideas of the time, and a taste for progress. He was accompanied to Warsaw by the Marquis Wielopolski, a native Pole, who was made chief of the Polish Council. Wielopolski entertained the impracticable idea of reconciling the Poles and Russians, and uniting them in the Panslavist interest.

In Russia itself much discontent existed, principally excited by the emancipation of the serfs, begun in 1857. Alexander II. has received great credit for his humanity in this measure, but it appears rather to have been dictated by policy, with a view to break the power of the nobles. The alliance of despotism with extreme democracy and the lowest classes of society is a fact that has been often illustrated in our own time. Alexander's principal design was to withdraw the serfs from the influence of their masters, the *boyars*, and place them under his own. The measure caused great discontent among the nobles and educated classes, who now saw no barrier between the throne and themselves. There were demands for a Constitution and a Parliament, and the discontent was manifested by incendiarism in most of the great towns, including St. Petersburg. Nor was the condition of the serf improved. He was still attached to the soil and to his *horde*, or community, which spared him less than the landed proprietor had done. Similar measures, with the like views, were contemplated for Poland.

Emancipation of Russian Serfs, 1857.

The state of that country under Russian despotism may be inferred from the fact that in the first half of the year 1862, nearly 15,000 persons, or about one-fifth of the whole male population of Warsaw, had been thrown into the dungeons of that city. Count Andrew Zamoyski, selected to represent the national sentiments to the Tsar, was seized, carried to St. Petersburg, and thence into exile. Alexander II. was for some time doubtful what course to pursue. There were two sets of counsellors. The old Russian, or Muscovite party, to which Prince Gortschakov belonged, followed the traditional policy of the Emperor Nicholas, and was for mild and conciliatory measures, with certain reforms. On the other hand, the German, or "Young Russia" party, invited by Prussia, was for using the greatest severity. Their counsels prevailed, and war to revolutionists became the order of the day.

Russian Despotism in Poland.

Conscription
in
Poland.

There can be no doubt that the Polish insurrection was purposely excited by Russia. The method adopted was an illegal conscription. Lists were made out of young men of the noble and burgher classes, the most troublesome to Russia, who were to be pressed into the army, while the peasants were left untouched. Thus one of two objects would be attained: either the disaffected would be rendered powerless, or, what was both more probable and more agreeable to Russian policy, a rebellion would ensue.

The measure was executed in the most brutal manner. On the night of January 15th, 1863, Warsaw seemed to be suddenly converted into a town taken by assault. The conscripts marked out by the police were seized in their beds; where they could not be found, their kinsmen, old men and boys, were dragged in their stead to the citadel. A few days after, the Russian official journal announced, with a cynical irony, that the conscription had been peaceably effected! Insult added to injury was too much for human nature to bear, and the insurrection sprung at once into life. Many marked for conscription had escaped into the country, and were soon joined by others from different quarters. Before the end of January the insurrection was regularly organized with a central anonymous committee at Warsaw.¹

Heroism of
the Poles.

In this disastrous struggle the Poles displayed the greatest heroism. The spirit which animated them is illustrated by a combat at Wengrow. The Polish main body having been defeated by a superior Russian force, a body of 200 youths, mostly nobles, to cover the retreat of their comrades, made a desperate charge up to the Russian guns, and were killed to a man. The warfare was of the guerilla kind. It was at first endeavoured to give the insurgents a more regular organization, and with this view, Langiewicz, who had served under Garibaldi, was made Dictator. He collected some 12,000 men, and established his head-quarters at Radom. But he was interfered with by the Polish Committee in London, and by their *protégé* Microslawsky, who wanted the chief command, and thwarted all his plans. Langiewicz was defeated by the Russians, March 19th, and his army dispersed. He himself escaped into Galicia, and was favourably received by the Austrian authorities.

¹ See Marten, *Pologne et Muscovie*; Araminski, *Histoire de la révolution Polonoise*.

Austria at first ostensibly favoured the Poles. The Vienna and St. Petersburg Cabinets were at that time far from friendly. Austria suspected and feared the Russian plots to excite rebellion in Turkey, which could not but be prejudicial to her interests. Russia, the foremost advocate of passive and slavish obedience, scruples not, when it suits her plans, to foment rebellion among her neighbours. Bismarck had endeavoured to draw Austria on the side of Russia. The treaty with Russia before mentioned made the question a European one. It has not been published; but the chief feature of it seems to have been to allow the Russians to pursue the Poles into Prussian territory. When the Western Powers interfered, Bismarck attempted to disavow it; but practically it was carried into effect. The French people sympathized with the Poles, but the Germans, who were averse to them, stood like a wall between them and France. Napoleon III. was at that time well disposed towards the Tsar, and unwilling to compromise one of the first of Continental alliances. He observed in his speech on opening the Chambers in November, that Alexander II. had faithfully supported him during the war in Italy and the annexation of Savoy and Nice. France, therefore, did not proceed beyond diplomatic action, in which she was joined by England and Austria. Lord John Russell drew up some pedantic notes in which he lectured Russia on the treaties of 1815. Those treaties had indeed secured for Poland many rights which might now be sought in vain—religious freedom, liberty of the press, equality before the law, the sole use of the Polish tongue in public affairs, the filling of all posts, both civil and military, by Poles alone, a national representation of two Chambers, and several more. But of all these they had been deprived after the extinction of their rebellion in 1831, and to invoke them now was like calling spirits from the vasty deep. The Russians, of course, only laughed in their sleeves, and more especially, perhaps, at the appeals which the notes contained to Russian magnanimity and clemency. Gortschakov made a semi-serious reply. Austria cared little for the Poles. Her chief anxiety was for her province of Galicia, though probably she was not displeased with an opportunity to spite Russia. Gortschakov's answer to her note was short and dry; to France he replied with protestations of goodwill, intermingled with sarcastic remarks about the dangers of revolutionary principles. In June the three Powers followed up

Interven-
tion of
Western
Powers.

their notes by a joint one, in which, on the suggestion of the English Cabinet, the following six points were laid down as the basis of a pacification:—1. A complete and general amnesty. 2. National representation. 3. Public offices to be filled by Poles. 4. Perfect religious liberty. 5. The Polish language to be the official one. 6. A legal system of recruiting. A suspension of arms was also demanded, and a Congress of the five great Powers to settle the matter. Gortschakov replied that the Tsar had already made concessions which were contemned by the Poles; asserted that the centre of the insurrection was to be sought in the revolutionary committees in London and Paris, and refused a suspension of arms. The suggestion of a conference was contemptuously met in the reply to Austria by a counter one for a conference of the three Powers which had divided Poland; thus intimating that the Western Powers had no business to interfere. Russia came victorious out of the diplomatic contest. She knew her own will, while the counsels of the three Powers were divided and irresolute. The French and English ambassadors at St. Petersburg let fall, indeed, some obscure threats and on the 3rd of August the three Powers renewed their representations. But the season was now too far advanced for naval operations in the Baltic. Early next month Gortschakov announced that the discussion was closed.

War in
Poland.

Meanwhile the war had proceeded with increased intensity. After the defeat of Langiewicz, the Central Committee gave up the idea of another Dictatorship, and guerilla warfare was resumed, for which the numerous woods afforded great facilities. It was marked by extreme barbarity on the part of the Russians. All Polish officers captured were shot or hanged. Towns and villages were burnt, their inhabitants massacred, prisoners put to death; robbery and murder were the order of the day. Several Russian officers committed suicide rather than carry out their barbarous instructions, among them Colonel Korf, who declared that he could not reconcile his orders with his duties as an officer and man of honour. In the midst of these horrors, the Central Committee conducted its business with wonderful secrecy, under the very eyes of the Russian authorities. It exercised all the functions of a regular government, raised taxes, granted passports, and even passed sentences of death. Its commands were implicitly obeyed, though nobody knew whence they came. Once a treacherous workman be-

trayed to the Russians the chamber in which the proclamations and other papers of the Committee were printed. The house was surrounded, the chamber searched; only a large chest was found, and in it the corpse of the traitor!

The insurrection had been propagated in Lithuania and the Russo-Polish provinces, but not in those belonging to Austria and Prussia, for fear of bringing those Powers into the field. The mission of General Muraviev into Lithuania with dictatorial power, was a sort of answer and defiance to the Western Powers. His methods were death or Siberia and confiscation. Immediately after his arrival he shot or hanged some of the chief landed proprietors of the province, as well as several priests and abbés. He emancipated the Lithuanian peasants, incited them against their masters, whose lands he promised them. He is computed to have driven at least a quarter of a million Lithuanians into the Steppes of Orenburg. His fury was particularly directed against women and priests; women, indeed, were the soul of the insurrection. The schismatical Church of Russia has always displayed the utmost intolerance and hatred towards the Roman Catholics. The clergy were subjected to heavy contributions, and decimated by arrests. Within the year 183 priests were apprehended. Colonel Moller, Russian commandant in Wilkomir, said in a circular, "I attribute all the disturbances in Poland to the inclination of the Romish clergy for brigandage and rebellion, which is common to them with Pío IX. and his Cardinals."

General
Muraviev's
methods.

The Grand Duke Constantine, who had not acted with the expected vigour, quitted Warsaw in August. General de Berg now assumed dictatorial power, and imitated the example of Muraviev at Wilna. He discovered some members of the secret government, hanged five of them, and condemned sixteen others, including four ladies, to hard labour in the Siberian mines. Austria gave a death-blow to it, and at the same time reconciled herself with Russia, by proclaiming martial law in Galicia. One of the last brutalities of the Russians was the destruction of Ibiány, in the government of Kowno, in May, 1864, which had distinguished itself in the insurrection. The principal inhabitants were put to death, the rest were transported into remote provinces, and their lands distributed among *Rascolniks*, or old orthodox Russians, the town was razed, its very name effaced, and the new colony was called "Nicholas." By a decree of the Tsar, March 2nd, 1864, the lands of the

Extinction
of Poland.

Polish nobles were given to the peasants, with only a nominal compensation. Polish officials who did not speak Russian were dismissed, and the Russian tongue was introduced into all schools. The children of the poor were forcibly baptized by Russian popes; the rich had to pay for the privilege of Catholic baptism. The same policy was pursued in subsequent years. In July, 1869, the Polish university of Warsaw was converted into a Russian one, and all lectures were to be in that tongue. Shopkeepers and innkeepers were forbidden to answer an address in Polish; the speaking of that language aloud in the streets was prohibited; nay, fathers and mothers were forbidden to teach it to their children! A German author has truly remarked, that though some of the tyrants of antiquity turned whole populations out of their lands and homes, and sent them into strange lands, there is no instance of their having deprived them of the use of their mother tongue.¹

¹ Arnd, *Gesch. der Jahre 1867-1871*, B. i. S. 352.

CHAPTER LXXIII

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

THE attention of Europe was diverted from unhappy Poland by other scenes of injustice, though not of equal atrocity—the German war against Denmark, and mutilation of that kingdom. The Danish constitution of 1855 was a source of constant disputes with Germany, but we shall pass them over till the year 1863, when they were brought to a crisis. With the view of getting rid of German interference, Holstein, a member of the German *Bund*, was declared, by a Danish ordinance of March 23rd, to be autonomous and only personally united with Denmark. This measure, it was stated in the preamble, was in accordance with the demands of the German *Bund*, but not to be considered definitive. In fact, however, the Germans wanted something more. They desired that Schleswig, as well as Holstein, should be autonomous, and that the two duchies should be united; and they asserted that in thus separating their constitutions, it was the purpose of Denmark to annex Schleswig. Nor was this charge without some colour. In the preceding January the Danish States, or *Rigsdag*, had voted an address to the King that he should persist in his endeavours to draw Schleswig to Denmark, to which probably he was not disinclined. And the marriage of Alexandra, daughter of Christian of Glücksburg, who, by the Treaty of London, 1852, had been recognized as heir to the Danish throne, to the Prince of Wales (March 10th, 1863), may have encouraged the aspirations of the Danish court by the hopes of a strong alliance.

Denmark
and the
Duchies.

In the following August Austria and Prussia demanded that the Danish constitution of 1855 should be abrogated; that the project of a new constitution should be submitted to an assembly of the four Danish States, viz., Denmark proper, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg; and that all four as-

semblies should be on a footing of equality. A manifest injustice; since Lauenburg, with its population of 50,000 souls, would thus become equal to Denmark. And they further demanded that the mixed Danish and German populations of Schleswig should be put on the same footing as before 1848.

Negotiations ensued which came to nothing. On the 1st October the *Bund* resolved on federal execution in Holstein, and Denmark was summoned to withdraw the March ordinance within a month. But Denmark was proceeding in a contrary direction. On the 13th of November the *Rigsraad* passed a law for a new Assembly, to consist of deputies from Denmark and Schleswig only, to the exclusion of Holstein and Lauenburg. This certainly tended to the incorporation of Schleswig, but was not actually such, as both States were to preserve their particular constitutions.

Death of
Frederick
VII., 1863.

The question entered into a new phase by the death of the weak and incapable King Frederick VII., November 15th, only two days after the passing of the new law. He was succeeded by Christian IX., the Protocol King, as he was called, of the Treaty of London. But the duchies were claimed by Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg, a major in the Prussian army, though, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 114), his father had renounced all claim to them, both for himself and children. But the Prince maintained that he was not bound by this renunciation; the Holsteiners recognized him, and the majority of the German *Bund* supported him. Austria and Prussia, which had signed the London Protocol, could not openly join this movement, so they affected the part of mediators. But the Prussian Parliament addressed the king to disregard the Protocol and recognize Augustenburg, who was also supported by the *Nationalverein*, the *Gross Deutschland Reformverein*, and the *Particularists*, as they were called, or opponents of unity, who wanted a *Triad*, and would have been glad to see another State added. The more outspoken Germans confessed that they were moved by interested views, for the Danish dominions contained some fine ports which they coveted.

Christian IX. being summoned by the *Bund* to withdraw the law of November 13th, requested time, as a constitutional sovereign, to assemble and consult the Danish *Rigsraad*; but this was unreasonably refused, and it was resolved to proceed to federal execution. Austria and Prussia, in a joint letter

to the Diet, December 5th, stated that they could not violate the Treaty of London, "so long as they recognized its validity;" and as that Treaty protected Schleswig, they recommended the Diet to confine themselves to execution in Holstein, while they would take the case of Schleswig into their own consideration. This unexpected agreement of the two great Powers excited much surprise, and at first sight, indeed, appears strange enough. But we have already seen that Austria, at this period governed by Count Rechberg, was bent on conciliating Prussia. She wanted also to watch over and control Prussia, and to prevent her from enjoying alone the fruits of victory. On the other hand, though Prussian interests coincided with those of Germany, the democrats in the Prussian Parliament accused the government of returning to the policy of Olmütz, and refused a grant for the war.

By order of the Diet, at the instigation of Austria and Prussia, 12,000 Saxon and Hanoverian troops, forming the army for federal execution, entered Holstein, December 23rd. This was a clear breach of the Treaty of London by the kings of Saxony and Hanover; for those sovereigns, as well as the King of Würtemberg, had acceded to the Treaty, though the German *Bund* had not. At the same time Austrian and Prussian troops were posted on the Danish frontier as a reserve. The Danes evacuated Holstein, by advice of the neutral Powers; Duke Frederick VIII., of Augustenburg, was proclaimed there, and joined the army of the *Bund* at Kiel. Prussia connived at this illegal proceeding, though Austria protested. Those Powers had now rejected the Treaty of London, which they had recognized at the beginning of December. On the 14th of January, 1864, they moved the Diet that Denmark should be required to suspend the November constitution within forty-eight hours, and that in case of refusal Schleswig should be occupied as a pledge. England and Russia advised the revocation, but Christian IX. again pleaded that he must await the sanction of his *Rigsraad*. Hereupon it was proposed by the neutral Powers that a Protocol should be made in the names of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, recording the intention of the Danish Government to make the required concession; but this was also refused by the German Powers, on the ground that if they should stop short after preparing to invade Schleswig, they would be exposed to disturbance and revolution in Ger-

Federal
execution
in Holstein.

many. In short, they were already resolved to appropriate Schleswig. Bismarck, on being asked whether his Government still adhered to the Treaty of London, gave a vague and equivocating answer. The view in Berlin was that if Schleswig resisted it would lead to war, and that war put an end to treaties. So that a strong Power may release herself from her engagements by making an unprovoked and unjustifiable aggression. For Bismarck himself had declared in the Prussian Chambers, in April, 1849, that the war then prosecuted against Denmark was a highly unjust, frivolous, and disastrous one, to support an entirely groundless revolution.¹

England
and the
Schleswig-
Holstein
Affair.

The affairs of Denmark had long engaged the attention of the British Cabinet. Lord John Russell, then Foreign Minister, had protested, in 1860, against the interference of the Germans in Schleswig. In January, 1862, he had energetically reproved the proceedings of Prussia, but in the summer of that year he accompanied the Queen to Gotha, the centre of the German Schleswig-Holstein agitation, where his opinions seem to have undergone a change. In the autumn he charged the Danish Government with neglecting their engagements as to Schleswig, and proposed to them a new constitution, which would have tended to the dissolution of the monarchy. It is unnecessary to describe it, as Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, pronounced it impracticable. In the autumn of 1863, when matters threatened an open rupture, Lord Russell, who seems again to have changed his views, addressed notes to the Frankfurt Diet, intimating, in a haughty tone, that Great Britain could not remain an indifferent spectator of German pretensions. On the 28th of December the English Cabinet sent a copy of the Treaty of London to the Frankfurt Diet, and invited the European Powers to a Congress, to discuss the Danish question. France at once declined. Only a little before England had rejected Napoleon's proposal for a Congress about Polish affairs. That refusal was no doubt a wise one, for the French Emperor proposed to open up the Treaties of 1815, and consequently the whole state of Europe, which would have caused endless debate and confusion. But the abrupt style of the reply,

Napoleon's
secret pro-
posals.

¹ " . . . ein höchst ungerechtes, frivoles und verderbliches Unternehmen, zur Unterstützung einer ganz unmotivirten Revolution."—*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 15, 1868, p. 380. See also Dicey, *The Schleswig-Holstein War*; Rustow, *Der Deutsche-Dänische Krieg*.

which the French characterized as *brutal*, had given as much offence as the refusal itself. The conduct of France, however, throughout this Danish business was very equivocal, and the key of it must be sought in some disclosures made by Bismarck in 1870. Napoleon III. had formed the project of playing the same game with the Prussian Minister as he had done with Cavour, and of getting an accession of French territory by helping Prussia in the same way. With this view a Secret Treaty between France and Prussia had been drawn up by Count Benedetti, the French Minister, which Bismarck neither accepted nor positively rejected.¹ In fact, he played the political jilt, and led on Napoleon with false hopes till such a course no longer served his purposes. Thus Denmark, a little State of less than four million souls, was left alone face to face with her gigantic adversaries; for Russia, employed in stamping out the embers of the Polish revolt, naturally had no compunction for her, nay, may have even felt a secret satisfaction that the acts of the Germans afforded some countenance to her own conduct towards Poland.

Lord Russell renewed his applications to France in January, 1864, and proposed material aid, and at the same time he addressed threatening notes to the minor German Powers. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French Minister at War, contented himself in reply with recommending "benevolent" counsels at Vienna and Berlin. Von Beust, the Saxon Minister, told Lord Russell that no foreign Power had a right to interfere between the *Bund* and Holstein, one of its States.

The two great German Powers did not scruple to extend their operations beyond Holstein. The Prussian army, under General Wrangel, entered Schleswig, February 1st. By the 19th they had seized Kolding. To the remonstrances of the English Cabinet Bismarck replied, that this had been done without orders, but nevertheless the occupation would be continued. The Danes had extended and strengthened the celebrated rampart called the *Dannevirke*, which stretched forty English miles from the mouth of the Schlei to Friedrichstadt, having the town of Schleswig for its centre. Behind this fortification the Danish army, 50,000 or 60,000 strong, under De Meza, was posted. The Prussians, under Gablenz, having been repulsed in an assault, it was determined to

The Germans seize Schleswig, 1864.

¹ See Bismarck's own account in the *Tableau Historique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*, p. 385 sqq.

turn the position. Their right wing, under Prince Frederick Charles, took Eckernförde, crossed the Schlei at Arnis, and having thus gotten into De Meza's rear, he was forced to abandon the *Dannevirke*, with sixty guns, and retire by Flensburg to Düppel. For this unavoidable act he was superseded by General von Gerlach. Düppel, also a strong place, after a long and brave defence was taken by assault, April 18th. Meanwhile the Austrians had occupied the northern parts of Schleswig, and Duke Frederick was proclaimed there as he had been in Holstein.

Conference
of London,
1864.

In consequence of the German victories a Conference of the Great Powers had been summoned to meet at London, and was opened under the presidency of Lord John Russell, April 25th. Napoleon had insisted that the *Bund* should be represented, though it had been no party to the Treaty of London, and Von Beust was appointed to represent it. A month's truce was obtained, May 12th. Prussia required that the duchies should be separated from Denmark, leaving open the question of a personal union. As the Danes would not consent, Prussia joined Austria and Saxony in demanding the duchies for Duke Frederick of Augustenburg. Lord Russell now declared that, in order to satisfy Germany, it would be necessary to separate Holstein, Lauenburg, and the southern part of Schleswig from Denmark, and he proposed a line from the *Dannevirke* and the mouth of the Schlei, the rest of Denmark to be guaranteed by Europe. France assented, with the proviso that the inhabitants of Schleswig should choose their own sovereign by a *plébiscite*, which was afterwards modified to a vote of the communities. Denmark accepted this line, but Austria and Prussia claimed a more northerly one, from Apenrade to Tondern, and on this point the Conference failed. Thus England tore up the Treaty of 1852, and agreed to the dismemberment of Denmark.

And now that the question was reduced to a strip of land containing some 125,000 or 130,000 souls, Lord Russell proposed to France that they should go to war to maintain the line he had laid down. Drouyn de l'Huys asked, very sensibly, whether, after suffering Denmark to be disintegrated, it would be worth while to go to war now for so trifling an object; and he observed that though only a naval demonstration was proposed, such a course affected France and England very differently, for the French frontier would be endangered, while

England would run no risk of the sort. Was Lord Russell prepared to give France unlimited support? He seemed to think that a threat would suffice, but such a calculation might fail. Before the deplorable result of the Polish business, the authority of the two Powers had not been lowered, but now words without blows would be fatal to their dignity.¹ It must be allowed that this of itself was a sufficient and statesmanlike answer to the English proposal; but France, as we have already mentioned, had also other secret motives for the policy she adopted.

Denmark had accepted a fortnight's prolongation of the armistice, although she had the best of the naval war, on the understanding that England would adhere to the line of demarcation which she had laid down. But Lord Russell, after he had failed in his application to France, proposed to refer it to arbitration! Bishop Monrad, President of the Lower House of the Danish *Rigsraad*, said in his place: "I cannot explain how this proposal was consistent with Earl Russell's promise."² It is indeed very difficult of explanation, except as a means of escaping from an embarrassing position.

England
abandons
Denmark.

The abortive Conference broke up June 25th, with a painful scene. Von Quaade, the Danish Plenipotentiary, reproached the English Ministers with abandoning Denmark after having encouraged her to resist. Lord Clarendon replied that England had promised nothing, which was no doubt literally true; yet all her conduct had been such as to inspire the Danes with the expectation that she would help them. It is a sad chapter in England's history. War is a dreadful thing and to be avoided if possible; even the doctrine of peace at any price is intelligible, if accepted with its consequences—isolation, contempt, at last probably absorption by some more warlike Power. But to be determined on peace, and yet to attempt dictation, is as absurd as it is dangerous. Cobden, the consistent representative of the Manchester school, applauded the policy of keeping aloof; but he complained that the want of sagacity of the Foreign Minister had exposed him to rebuffs and the country to humiliation. Apologists of the Ministry allege that the inaction of England was in a large measure due to the fact that English statesmen and public writers found, when they looked into the matter, that the Danes were substantially in

¹ Despatch of Drouyn de l'Huys, *Annuaire*, t. xiii. App. 969.

² *Annual Register*, p. 233.

the wrong.¹ If this be so, it makes the matter worse, for the Ministry must have been treating the subject some years without having looked into it; and in this happy state of ignorance they, at the very last moment, brought the country to the brink of a war about it! Perhaps a better apology for them may be, that they seem to have been embarrassed by the pacific policy of the Peelite section of the Cabinet, led by Gladstone. England, as a French writer observes, in spite of splendid budgets, was made bankrupt in reputation.² In the debates which ensued on the subject in Parliament, the Ministry were beaten in the Lords, and escaped in the Commons only by a majority of eighteen. We now return to the war.

Peace of
Vienna,
1864.

The allies overran Jutland, but refrained from crossing over to Funen. Christian IX. was now compelled to sue for peace, and preliminaries were signed at Vienna, August 1st. Christian, as rightful heir, ceded Holstein and Schleswig to Austria and Prussia, yet at the London Conference they demanded them for Duke Augustenburg! Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse-Darmstadt demanded that Schleswig should be incorporated with the German Confederation; but the claims of the *Bund* were contemptuously set aside. Austria and Prussia had used it as a stalking-horse, and permitted it to appear at the London Conference; but when the booty was to be divided the phantom disappeared. Bismarck instructed the Prussian Ambassador in London to express a hope that the British Government would recognize the moderation and placability of the two German Powers, which had no wish to dismember the ancient and venerable Danish monarchy, but merely to separate from it parts with which further union was impossible. Lord Russell despatched a very just and well-written remonstrance; to which Bismarck gave no heed. On the 1st of December Austria and Prussia, in a joint note, summoned the *Bund* to withdraw from countries which belonged to them by right of conquest; and the Hanoverian and Saxon troops evacuated Holstein.

Prussian
pretensions.

Thus the one-headed and two-headed eagles had seized their prey, but they were soon to quarrel about the division of the spoil. At first they held joint possession, and in January, 1865, they established in the town of Schleswig a Government

¹ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 426, note (ed. 1876).

² *Annuaire*, t. xiii. p. 382.

in common for both duchies. But such a state of things could of course only be provisory. Austria, having little or no interest in those distant countries, would willingly have traded on the situation to get an extension of territory at the expense of Bavaria, and overtures were made to Bismarck to that effect; who, however, did not entertain them. He felt himself to be master of the situation. Austria feared to break with him. For, besides her internal troubles, she dreaded the resentment of Russia about the Polish business; the Venetian question threatened an alliance between Prussia and Italy, and the friendship of France was ill-assured. Prussia now required to be put in possession of so much territory as would enable her to protect the coast and harbours. But for this purpose, the military system of the duchies must be an integral part of that of Prussia. She must have a military road through Holstein, and the soldiery must take an oath to King William I. The duchies were to be admitted into the *Zollverein*, from which Austria was excluded. Rendsborg was indeed to be a federal fortress, garrisoned by Austrians and Prussians; but, on the other hand, the important port of Kiel was to be exclusively Prussian. All this was virtually little less than annexation.

Thus little account was taken of the people themselves in whose interests the conquest had been ostensibly made; and not only the Schleswigers but the Holsteiners also, began to regret their former connection with Denmark. In December, 1864, the inhabitants of Schleswig, in a farewell address to Christian IX., expressed their sorrow at being separated from "the mild rule of the Danish Kings."¹ The Prussians do not appear to have mitigated the acerbity of their political pretensions by conciliatory manners. When they entered Jutland they had not only amerced it in a heavy contribution and the supply of necessaries for the army, but also demanded luxuries for the officers, as wine, cigars, tobacco, etc. A kind of secret government under the Duke of Augustenburg was formed at Kiel, which was protected by Austria and supported by the German democrats with money as well as noisy demonstrations. But in the midst of the hubbub, Prussia quietly took possession of Kiel, March 24th, 1865.

Austria had begun to perceive that she was being made a

¹ The old song of "Schleswig-Holstein" was altered as follows:

"Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt,
Schmeisst die Preussen aus dem Land."

Convention
of Gastein,
1865.

cat's paw. The unpopularity of the Prussian Government seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for resisting their pretensions. The Prussian Lower House opposed all Bismarck's measures, refused to pay the costs of the Prussian victories, and assailed him with the coarsest personal abuse. A new Assembly followed the same course. Austria now supported in the Diet the Duke of Augustenburg; while Prussia brought forward the claims of the Duke of Oldenburg, and even revived some obsolete ones of her own. Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse-Darmstadt, moved the Diet that the question of a ruler should be decided by a general representative Assembly of the duchies freely elected. But, well aware that the public feeling there was averse to Prussia, Bismarck declared that he would adhere to the Treaty of Vienna, and that, if the States were convoked, they must do homage to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. He perceived that Austria must again be hoodwinked. The King of Prussia met the Emperor of Austria at Bad Gastein, and after some negotiations the CONVENTION OF GASTEIN was effected, August 14th. It was nothing but a prolonged provisorium. Holstein was to be administered by Austria, Schleswig by Prussia, Lauenburg was made over to Prussia, she paying Austria $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions Danish rix-dollars. But though the Lauenburgers had consented to the transfer, it does not appear what right Austria had to sell them. The other articles were conformable to the Prussian demands already mentioned, except that Kiel was to be a federal port. The King of Prussia was invested with the sovereignty of Lauenburg at Ratzeburg, September 27th, on which occasion Bismarck was made a Count.

This Convention has been justly styled the Austrian Olmütz. It is said to have had secret articles, by which Austria was to have a slice of Bavaria if she remained true to the Prussian alliance. The allies let the Diet know that all future negotiations about Schleswig-Holstein would be conducted without their participation. The Duke of Augustenburg entered into some mean negotiations with the Prussian Government with the view of retaining his sovereignty. But Bismarck had obtained from the Prussian crown lawyers a decision that his right, if it had ever existed, was abrogated by the Peace of Vienna. Thus he had been by turns opposed, upheld, and deserted by Prussia, as it suited her views. Both the French and English Foreign Ministers denounced the Gastein Con-

vention in unmeasured terms, the former calling it worthy of the darkest epochs of history. The Convention was a natural consequence of French and English policy. The *Nationalverein* also protested, and the Frankfurt Deputies branded the acts of Austria and Prussia as unworthy of civilized nations. It was at Gastein, while professing friendship to Austria, that Bismarck began his negotiations with Italy.

Austria was in a false position. She sought to circumvent Prussia by making herself popular in the duchies. Gablenz, her governor in Holstein, was much more loved than Mantuffel, the Prussian governor of Schleswig. With the same view she encouraged the pretensions of Augustenburg; though this was clearly contrary to the Treaty of Vienna and the Convention of Gastein, by which alone she had a footing in Holstein. And to prepare for the inevitable struggle—for it was evident that the present arrangements could not last—she began to set her own affairs in order.

The most material point was to conciliate the Hungarians. Francis Joseph went to Pesth in July, and as a pledge of his good intentions made some changes in the ministry. The unpopular imperial constitution was suspended by a decree of September 20th. At the reopening of the *Reichstag* in November, 1864, which had been intermitted during the Danish war, the Bohemians absented themselves, as well as the Hungarians and Croats. The empire was now divided into two portions east and west of the Leitha, Count Mailath being set over the former, and Count Belcredi over the latter. But this plan gave even less satisfaction than that which it superseded, and was opposed by all the provinces except Tyrol. The Hungarians addressed the Emperor for the restoration of their ancient constitution, with only a personal union; demands which he would not then concede. To conciliate the Venetians, a general amnesty was granted, and exiles were permitted to return (January 1st, 1866). The Italians looked on these concessions as a sign of weakness, for war between Austria and Prussia was beginning to appear inevitable.

It is hardly worth while to inquire which Power was the actual aggressor. Prussia appears to have opened the diplomatic correspondence which ended in war; but Austria gave the occasion for it. She had allowed a great popular meeting at Altona in favour of Augustenburg, which demanded the assembling of the Holstein States. Prussia regarded this as

Division
of the
Austrian
Empire.

a traitorous act, and Bismarck addressed a note to Vienna (January 26th), in which he accused Austria of promoting demagogic anarchy and of being aggressive and revolutionary! Austria declared she would not be dictated to as to her government of Holstein. Bismarck had observed in the Diet in the preceding August that whoever had Schleswig must have Holstein also; and he carried out his policy of annexation amidst the most violent opposition from the Lower Chamber, and in spite of the fears of the King and Court. So unpopular was he become with the democrats that an attempt was made on his life.

Treaty
between
Prussia and
Italy, 1866.

Both Powers began to arm. In the middle of March Austria sent large bodies of Hungarians into Bohemia on the pretext of disturbances there, and in a circular called on the minor States to prepare themselves for war. Prussia, on her side, armed the Silesian fortresses, and sounded the middle States whether they would be inclined to side with her. She found but few adherents among them. They were in favour of *particularismus*, and dreaded her absorbing tendencies and warlike propensities. Bismarck must therefore look abroad for allies. In the preceding summer he had made a commercial treaty between the *Zollverein* and Italy. While still negotiating with Austria he assured her, April 5th, that nothing was further from his intentions than an attack on Italy, and on the 8th he signed an alliance with Victor Emanuel! General Govone had arrived in Berlin in the middle of March to arrange it. But it had been concocted long before. In opening the new Italian legislature, November 18th, 1865, the King had hinted at an approaching change, which would permit Italy to complete her destinies. Bismarck now began to show his hand more openly. On April 9th, only a day after signing the Italian treaty, Prussia demanded in the Frankfurt Diet a Parliament elected by universal suffrage to discuss federal reform.

In May, Napoleon III. renewed his secret negotiations with Prussia, proposing to help her with 300,000 men against Austria, and to procure for her additional territories comprising from six to eight million souls, in return for certain cessions on the Rhine. But Bismarck, fortified by the Italian alliance, thought that he might attain his ends without the help of France. He seems now to have definitely dismissed Napoleon's suit, and to have told him, like another male jilt of antiquity,

"Haud hæc in fœdera veni." The history is somewhat obscure; but the French Emperor seems now to have turned his attentions towards Austria, and to have made a secret treaty with that Power, which, among other things, included the cession of Venetia to France.¹ Thus baffled by Prussia, Napoleon resorted to his familiar scheme of proposing a Conference of all the Great Powers; but Austria would not consent to any discussion of boundaries, and so the project came to nothing.

More negotiations went on between Austria and Prussia, containing wonderful insults on both sides: "Very instructive," says Rüstow, "for populations that would learn something." Among these amenities was a circular of Bismarck's accusing Austria of provoking a war with a view to help her finances either by Prussian contributions or an honourable bankruptcy! This circular was occasioned by Austria having preferred in the Diet, June 1st, a string of accusations against Prussia; declaring at the same time that she was ready to submit the decision of the Schleswig-Holstein question to that assembly, and stating that she had directed the Governor of Holstein to summon the States, that so the wishes of the people might be known. Bismarck denied the competence of the Diet, as at present constituted, to decide the question, and denounced Austria's appeal to it, and the assembling of the Holstein States, as breaches of the Gastein Convention. In an extraordinary sitting of the Diet, June 11th, Austria, on her side, denounced Prussia as having violated that Convention, and demanded that the Federal Army, with the exception of the Prussian contingent, should be mobilized within a fortnight. Before the Diet had resolved on a definitive answer, Bismarck proposed to the different German Governments a scheme of federal reform, of which the principal features were that Austria and the Netherlands should be excluded from the *Bund*, and that the federal troops should be divided into a northern and a southern army, the first to be commanded by the King of Prussia, the second by the King of Bavaria. But the *coup de maître* was that the constitution of the new *Bund* was to be

Bismarck
adopts
Universal
Suffrage.

¹ This does not appear to have been published; but another, which Napoleon proposed to Austria in the following year, has been revealed. The main feature of it is, that after Prussia should have been defeated by France and Austria, the former should have Saarbrück, Saarlouis, and Saarbùrg; the latter, the southern part of Silesia.—*Tableau Historique*, p. 494.

settled by a Parliament elected by universal suffrage! The Conservative Minister who had lately denounced the milder proceedings of Austria as democratic and anarchical, assumed the national cockade, adopted the programme of the *Nationalverein*, substituted for the vote of an Assembly of sovereign princes that of the populace, and proposed to make feudal William I., king by the grace of God, head of Germany, by the will of the people! Thus both Powers displayed the grossest inconsistencies. Bismarck, whilst advocating a democratic Constitution for Germany, showed at Berlin his contempt for the Prussian people and for the Parliament, refused to allow in the duchies any other right but that of conquest, and forbade the convening of the Holstein States to settle their own government; whilst Austria, which had ignored the *Bund*, in the Treaties of Vienna and Gastein, now appealed to its decisions, and supported the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, which she had repudiated in those treaties as well as in that of London!

Meanwhile matters were coming to a practical issue. Gablenz, the Austrian Governor of Holstein, called an assembly of the States for June 11th, whilst Manteuffel, the Prussian Governor of Schleswig, was directed, if such an assembly were summoned, to enter Holstein with his troops, supported by the Prussian fleet. Manteuffel invaded Holstein, June 8th, and the Austrians, being too weak to resist, retired through Hamburg and Harburg into Hanover. Augustenburg fled, and Prussia then appointed Von Scheel Plessen Governor of Schleswig-Holstein.

Prussia
abrogates
the *Bund*.

The definitive answer of the Diet to Austria's demand for mobilization was given June 14th, when there appeared to be nine votes for Austria and six for Prussia. Those for Prussia were the Netherlands, all the free towns except Frankfurt, and the rest were minor duchies. Hereupon the Prussian envoy, after stating his case against Austria, declared the *Bund* dissolved, and signifying Prussia's readiness to form a new *Bund* with States so inclined, left the Assembly. Such was the end of the Confederation of 1815. Next day the war broke out. Prussia sent her ultimatum to Saxony, Hanover, and Electoral Hesse, which had voted against her, giving them twelve hours to answer; and as her proposals were not accepted, war was declared. There was no formal declaration of war against Austria.

Austria had regarded Prussia with contempt; such also was the feeling in France, and perhaps throughout Europe. The Prussian army was looked upon as a mere *Landwehr*, or militia, totally unfit for offensive warfare. But Bismarck had long been preparing for the conflict. In spite of persistent parliamentary opposition, Prussia had a fund of thirty million thalers in specie to begin the war. Every other preparation had been carefully made. The service of the railroads and telegraphs had been completely organized. The troops were armed with a new needle-gun, which enabled them to fire four or five times for the enemy's once. Accurate maps had been made of the future theatre of war, which were in possession of all the officers; so that a Frenchman who accompanied the Prussian army describes them as manœuvring on the enemy's territory as on a parade ground.¹ The Prussian railways were more numerous and convenient than the Austrian. Add that the Prussian troops were concentrated, while the Austrians were scattered; that they consisted wholly of Germans animated with patriotism, whilst the Austrian army was for the greater part composed of Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, Croats, etc., many of whom served unwillingly. For the sake of security the various regiments had been intermixed, though none of the privates and few of the officers could understand one another. Nothing had been done to improve the army, which was on the old and obsolete footing, though the artillery was the finest in Europe. Austria, too, as Bismarck was well aware, was ill prepared, and embarrassed by financial and other difficulties. She had sent 164,000 of her best troops to defend Venetia, and the Italians had declared war almost simultaneously with Prussia.

The
Austrian
Army.

A fortnight after mobilization had been ordered, Prussia had 326,000 men under arms. Of the extraordinary campaign which followed, the military reader will, of course, seek the details in the proper authorities;² we can here give only the general outlines. Some 60,000 men, under Von Falkenstein, were to act in Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces against the hostile States of the Confederation. The remainder of the troops, with 900 guns, under the command in chief of the King, was to be employed in Bohemia. It was in three divi-

The
Prussian
Army.

¹ Vilbort, *L'Œuvre de Bismarck*, p. 146.

² See especially Rüstow, *Der Krieg von 1866*.

sions: one, under the Prince Royal, was posted in Silesia; the other two, under Prince Frederick Charles and General Herwarth, were to enter Bohemia through Saxony, and, marching eastwards, to form a junction with the Prince Royal. The whole campaign was conducted by Von Moltke. The Prussian problem was to insure the communication between their forces in the east and west, to circumscribe the two theatres of operations, and to prevent the Bavarians from forming a junction with the Austrians. The Austrian army, consisting, including the Saxons, of 240,000 men, under Field-Marshal Benedek, stretched from Cracow to Prague, through Prerau, Olmütz, and Pardubitz.

Campaign
of 1866.

We will first cast a glance at the operations in the west. Falkenstein seized Cassel and the Elector himself, who was carried to Stettin, June 24th, while the electoral army retired to Fulda. Hanover, with its territory, was next occupied; blind King George, with his army of about 18,000 men, retreating by way of Gotha and Eisenach, with a view to join the Bavarians. Falkenstein, reinforced by Manteuffel and his Prussians from Holstein, after some manœuvring and a bloody battle at Langensalza, surrounded the Hanoverians at Warza, June 29th, and obliged them to capitulate. King George was allowed to retire whither he pleased except into his own dominions; his troops were disarmed and sent home. Thus the Prussian communications were established, and the coalition disorganized.

In the east the Prussians, under Herwarth, entered Saxony, June 16th, when the Saxon army evacuated that country and joined the Austrians in Bohemia. By the 20th all Saxony was in the hands of the Prussians, and Dresden occupied by a reserve brought from Berlin. Meanwhile Benedek had remained inactive. He expected that the main attack would be from Silesia, and that only a demonstration would be made from Saxony, so he fixed his head-quarters at Josefstadt, where he was within easy march of the Silesian frontier. This mistake was fatal. To arrest the Prussian march from Saxony he had posted Clam Gallas, with only about 60,000 men, including the Saxons, at Munchengrätz, who, thus isolated, was exposed to the main Prussian force.

The Prince Royal, having the difficult task of bearing the brunt of the Austrian attack on defiling through the passes of Silesia, waited till the other two armies had entered

Bohemia. These were to march to the Iser, while the Silesian army followed the right bank of the Upper Elbe; then, by a converging march on Gitschin and Königshof, the united force was to direct itself on Vienna, by Pardubitz and Brünn. The armies of Prince Frederick Charles and Herwarth entered Bohemia by Gabel and Reichenberg, both directing themselves on Munchengrätz. After one or two fights, especially at Podol, where the Austrians were literally mowed down, the two armies formed a junction. Clam Gallas, threatened by a superior force, retired from Munchengrätz towards Gitschen, but being defeated in a hard fought battle, retreated to Königgrätz.

Benedek now saw his mistake, and resolved to recover the line of the Iser. But this design was arrested by the movements of the Prince Royal, who, having discovered Benedek's plan, after a demonstration at Neisse, entered Bohemia in three columns; the right by Landshut and Trautenau, the centre by Wunschelburg and Braunau, the left by Reinerz and Nachod. Benedek's danger now stared him in the face; yet he did nothing effectual to check the Prussian advance, and contented himself with taking up a strong position at Königshof.

After some fierce battles, especially at Nachod, the Silesian army forced the passes, and, advancing on Königshof, drove the Austrians from it, June 29th. On the same day Clam Gallas was compelled to evacuate Gitschin. In the evening the armies of the Prince Royal and of Prince Frederick Charles formed a junction on the Upper Elbe. Herwarth also came up, and the three united armies formed a line of battle of three leagues, facing that part of the Elbe which runs from Josefstadt to Königgrätz. Benedek had concentrated his troops before the latter place. A great battle was now inevitable. The King of Prussia had arrived, and fixed his head-quarters at Gitschin. On the 2nd of July was fought the **BATTLE OF SADOWA**. The Austrians were completely defeated, and fled towards the Elbe; the bridges sufficed not for their passage; thousands were drowned, while the Prussian artillery, playing on them from the heights, destroyed thousands more. King William and Bismarck, as a *landwehr* cuirassier, personally took part in the battle. The Austrians lost 4,861 killed, 13,920 wounded, about 20,000 prisoners, 7 colours, and 160 guns. The Prussian loss was not much

**Battle
Sadowa
1866.**

more than half that number. Benedek retreated, first to Olmütz, then to Pressburg, followed by the Prince Royal. Gablenz's corps and the Austrian cavalry retreated towards Vienna by Brün, pursued by the other two Prussian armies.¹

The Archduke Albert, the victor of Custozza, had been hastily recalled from Italy to take command of all the Austrian forces, which he stationed on the left bank of the Danube. By the 18th of July the King of Prussia had advanced his headquarters to Nikolsburg, within ten miles of Vienna; so much had the Prussians achieved in twenty-five days after entering Bohemia. The French Emperor had offered his mediation, which was accepted on condition of an armistice, during which the preliminaries of a peace should be arranged. These were signed at Nikolsburg, July 26th, on the following bases: Austria was to leave the German Confederation, to recognize Prussia's acquisitions in the North, and the new constitution which she meant to propose for the *Bund*; but she consented to no cessions, except Venetia, and required that Saxony, the only State that had given her any material aid, should be restored in her integrity. Prussia undertook that Italy should adhere to the peace, after she was put in possession of Venetia.

The Prussians at Frankfurt.

Meanwhile in the West, Falkenstein, after defeating the Bavarians and Hessians in several little battles, entered Frankfurt, July 16th, which Prince Alexander of Hesse had abandoned. Falkenstein took possession of this ancient city, as well as of Nassau and Upper Hesse, in the name of King William I. The Prussians had long owed the Frankfurters a grudge; the rich bankers and merchants of the free city had been used to speak with contempt of the poverty-stricken squireens of the North. The Prussian exactions were terrible, and made in the most arrogant and brutal manner. They were repeated by Manteuffel, who succeeded Falkenstein at Frankfurt. The burgomaster is said to have committed suicide. Manteuffel continued the war, and defeated the Bavarians on the Tauber, July 25th. On the 27th Marienberg was attacked, and the citadel blown up. The Prussians had also achieved other successes in this quarter, and before they heard of the armistice, were in possession of Darmstadt, and had entered Würtemberg.

¹ See Hozier, *The Seven Weeks' War*; Fontane, *Der deutsche Krieg von 1866*.

The definitive PEACE OF PRAGUE, signed August 23rd, confirmed the preliminaries of Nikolsburg. Besides the articles mentioned, the Emperor of Austria transferred to the King of Prussia his claims on Schleswig-Holstein, with the reserve that the inhabitants of North Schleswig were to be retransferred to Denmark if they expressed such a wish by a free vote. Prussia confirmed the existence of the Kingdom of Saxony, but it was to belong to the new Northern *Bund*, on conditions to be arranged by special treaty. The clause respecting the retransfer of the North-Schleswigers, as well as the imaginary division of Germany into two parts, north and south of the Main, appear to have been inserted in the preliminaries through the French mediation. But Bismarck ultimately evaded the execution of the retransfer, and in the negotiations with Denmark on the subject, maintained that he was not bound to her, as she had not signed the Treaty of Prague, but solely to Austria!

Peace of
Prague,
1866.

Bismarck had received the plenipotentiaries of the Middle States with great *hauteur* at Nikolsburg. He would treat with them only separately. With Von Beust, the Saxon Minister, who was highly disagreeable to the Prussian Court, Bismarck would not treat at all, and he was obliged to resign. The Prussian treaty with Saxony left her little more than a geographical integrity and a nominal autonomy. Prussia was to direct her military organization; the Saxon garrisons were to be of mixed troops, but that of Königstein entirely Prussian. Saxon diplomacy at foreign courts was also to be placed under Prussian control. She, as well as Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse, had to pay heavy indemnities. Bavaria had also to cede districts near Orb in the Spessart and Kaulsdorf, and an *enclave* near Ziegenrück. Hesse-Darmstadt ceded the landgraviate of Hesse-Homburg, with pieces of territory to complete Prussian communications with Wetzlar. The districts of Hesse-Cassel, north of the Main, were to form part of the new northern Confederation.

Ad interim treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, were signed between Prussia and the States that were to form the new Northern *Bund*, till its constitution should be definitely settled. A Congress for that purpose was opened at Berlin, December 15th, and the new federal Pact was signed, February 8th, 1867. The subscribing States were, besides Prussia and Lauenburg, Saxony, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-

New North-
ern Bund.

Strelitz, Saxe-Weimar, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Waldeck, the two Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, and Grand Ducal Hesse north of the Main; Luxembourg and Limburg were left out. Saxony, the only State likely to offer opposition, was militarily occupied by Prussia, and King John came to see his new ally at Berlin. The States of the Confederation retained their domestic autonomy; but, for federal purposes, such as military organization and imposts, they were subject to the decision of the Diet, or Parliament. The legislative power was vested in that body, and a federal Council composed of representatives from the different States. The number of votes in the Council was forty-three, of which Prussia had seventeen, or more than a third. The King of Prussia, as President of the Council, had the executive power, and also commanded the army of the *Bund*. Bismarck was made its Chancellor.

Prussia also sought to extend her influence over the southern States, and forced them into treaties with her by representing the probable demands of France, who had, indeed, shown her teeth. Secret offensive and defensive treaties were signed with Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, for the reciprocal guarantee of territories, and in case of war, Prussia was to have the command of their armies. They were also bound to her by the *Zollverein*.¹

The results
of the War
on Prussia.

The results of the war for Prussia were the undivided hegemony of North Germany, her supremacy throughout the nation by the overthrow of Austria and her exclusion from the Confederation, the military command of South Germany, and the ground laid for future economical direction. The material advantages were the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, Frankfurt, and some minor territories, increasing her population to 24,000,000, to which must be added, in a military point of view, 5,000,000 in the northern *Bund*, and about 9,000,000 in the southern States belonging to the *Zollverein*. Her territory was rendered more coherent and compact; she had received 60,000,000 thalers in indemnities, and she had obtained possession of military ports, which rendered maritime development possible. King William

¹ Malet, *The overthrow of the Germanic Constitution by Prussia in 1866*.

gained some popularity by soliciting from the Prussian Parliament a Bill of Indemnity for the unconstitutional measures he had adopted, to insure his success and Prussia's aggrandizement.

The first parliament under the new federal constitution was opened September 10th, 1867. Seven permanent committees were appointed for the affairs of the Confederation, such as war, finance, justice, etc. As regards military arrangements, every citizen from the age of seventeen to forty-two was subject to serve in the army. This was divided into three bodies—the standing army, the *Landwehr*, and the *Landsturm*. The army is recruited by conscription, from which there is no exemption. Conscripts, and those voluntarily enlisted serve seven years in the standing army, viz., three with the colours and four in the reserve. They then pass into the *Landwehr* for five years, and afterwards into the *Landsturm*, till they attain the age of forty-two. In time of war the *Landwehr* may be called out for active service; the *Landsturm* only in case of national danger. The total force was computed at 300,000 for the standing army, 450,000 for the *Landwehr*, and 360,000 for the *Landsturm*. The armies of the southern States were estimated at 150,000 men in active service, and 42,000 *Landwehr*. As the total force was under the command of the King of Prussia, and as the southern States were members of the *Zollverein*, all Germany may be said to have been *Prussianized*.

Military constitution of the Confederation.

Thus Napoleon III., baffled, if not deluded, saw by the sudden and unexpected success of Prussia, Germany reconstructed against his will, as he had seen Italy before. When, after the rupture between Austria and Prussia, Napoleon III. changed his secret alliance with Prussia for one with Austria, his plan¹ was to look on till some decisive victories, which were expected to be on the side of Austria, should threaten the European equilibrium, when, at the proper moment, he would intervene, and recast the German Confederation. His "ideas" were to take Silesia from Prussia, and give it to Austria, in return for Venice, ceded to Italy. In compensation for Silesia and the Catholic provinces of the Rhine, which would, of course, become French, Prussia was to receive large Protestant territories on the Elbe and Baltic, by

The affair of Luxembourg, 1869.

¹ As explained in his letter to M. Drouyn de l'Huys, June 11th, 1866, cited by Klaczko, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1868, p. 528 sq.

which she would become compact, and a bulwark against Russia. The combination, says Klaczko,¹ was profound and vast; it had only one fault, but that was a fatal one—it did not contemplate the possibility of a Prussian victory. It was to be achieved by moral force, without drawing sword. Had Napoleon placed 100,000 men on the Rhine, Prussia's scheme might have been modified, if not overthrown. But the Prussian victories did not allow time for reflection, and he had confidently relied on Austria being victorious. Baffled in his main scheme, Napoleon wanted at least to get something, however small; and having, it is said, made some secret demands at Berlin, which were not attended to, he cast his eyes on Luxembourg. He was ready to buy it from the King of the Netherlands, who, on his side, was willing to sell, and get quit of the German Confederation. Austria, England, and Russia intervened, and a treaty was signed at London, by which Luxembourg was neutralized. Thus ended an affair which at first threatened to disturb the peace of Europe.

Napoleon's
failure in
Mexico.

Napoleon had just experienced another mortification in the failure of his designs upon Mexico. France, England, and Spain had, in 1862, despatched a joint expedition to Mexico to obtain satisfaction for insults and injuries committed not only on their subjects, but even on diplomatic agents, by Juarez, President of the Mexican Republic. England and Spain soon withdrew after obtaining what they considered satisfactory amends. But Napoleon had formed the chimerical project of establishing in those parts a nation of Latin race, as rivals of the Anglo-Americans, and continued the war. In 1864, Mexico, with the title of Emperor, was offered to, and accepted by the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, and a French army of 25,000 men was sent to support him, which took possession of the capital. But quarrels soon arose between Maximilian and his protectors; the Americans, quit of civil war, began to show hostility towards the new State; public opinion in France pronounced itself against this distant, expensive, and ill-judged enterprise, and in 1866 Napoleon recalled his troops.²

Hungary
and
Austria.

Austria, taught wisdom by misfortune, granted to Hungary, in 1867, the constitutional independence she had so long de-

¹ *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1868, p. 555.

² Lefèvre, *Histoire de l'intervention française au Mexique*.

manded. The reconciliation appeared to be complete, and on the 8th of June Francis Joseph, after swearing to maintain the ancient Hungarian Constitution, was crowned in the cathedral of Buda with the crown of St. Stephen. At the same time a separate ministry was constituted for Hungary under the presidency of Count Andrassy. These measures, the work of Von Beust, the *ci-devant* Saxon Minister, who had succeeded to the place of Belcredi in the Austrian councils, were accompanied with reforms in the western, or Cis-leithan, provinces of the Empire, and with changes in the method of administration to suit the altered circumstances.

In Italy as soon as the Prussian alliance was completed, preparations were made for immediate war. The King, with La Marmora at his side, took the command in chief; Garibaldi was at the head of the irregular forces, which flocked to him in great numbers. Napoleon III. called upon the Italians to disarm, but did not press his objection, and contented himself with declaring that Italy must take the consequences of her act. La Marmora felt secure. The Milanese was in a manner guaranteed by France, and by the Prussian Treaty both Powers had engaged not to make a separate peace. Hence Italy felt bound to decline the secret offer of Austria before the war broke out to cede Venetia to her if she would renounce the Prussian alliance.

Italian
campaign,
1866.

Victor Emanuel passed the Mincio, June 23rd, 1866. Cialdini was to cross the Po, and operate in the rear of the quadrilateral; Garibaldi was to seize the Trentino, while Persano, with the fleet, threatened Venice. Before these diversions were effected, General Durando, with only five divisions, ventured a front attack, was easily defeated by the Archduke Albert at Custoza, June 24th, and compelled to recross the Mincio. Garibaldi had also been checked at Monte Suello, in Tyrol. But Austria, as before related, now recalled her army from Italy, and ceded Venetia to Napoleon III. The Italians would willingly have done something to retrieve their military honour. After the withdrawal of the Archduke, the Austrians retired into the fortresses of the quadrilateral, when Cialdini overran Venetia without meeting an enemy, and occupied Rovigo and Padua. Persano was defeated off Lissa by the Austrian admiral, Tegethof, with a much smaller fleet; for which Persano was deprived of his rank. The Italians now accepted the armistice arranged at

Nikolsburg. Cialdini was directed to retire behind the Tagliamento, and Garibaldi was obliged to evacuate the Trentino. A clamour was raised against the ministry, and La Marmora found it necessary to resign.

Peace between Austria and Italy, 1866.

After the Peace of Prague Marshal Lebœuf took possession of Venetia in the name of Napoleon III. The PEACE OF VIENNA between Italy and Austria was signed October 3rd. Austria restored the ancient iron crown of Lombardy; Italy, at the dictation of France, abandoned the Trentino. According to the favourite practice of the French Emperor, the Venetians were to decide by a *plébiscite* for annexation to Italy; and the Italians had to endure the humiliation of withdrawing their troops lest they should influence the votes. Annexation was voted almost unanimously, October 22nd.

France and Italy.

Ricasoli, who succeeded La Marmora, governed with moderation. He was not a rabid enemy of the Church, but he was for utilizing Church property and suppressing convents. A law for that purpose excited a revolt in Sicily, chiefly led by the Benedictines, who possessed many rich convents in that island. The rising, however, was soon put down. Ricasoli was overthrown for having attempted to suppress public meetings, and was succeeded by the more violent Ratazzi. This minister carried out his predecessor's plans with respect to the Church. It was decided, July, 1867, that ecclesiastical property should be sold, and the produce administered by the State, the clergy receiving a fixed salary. The property of the Church in Italy was estimated at 2,000 million francs (about £80,000,000 sterling); out of the proceeds were to be compensated some 5,000 monks, distributed in 1,724 convents.

Ratazzi indulged in some underhand attempts to get possession of Rome. Agreeably to the Convention of September 15th, 1864, the French garrison had been withdrawn from Rome before the end of 1866; but their place had in some degree been supplied by what was called the Antibes Legion, which had been raised for the Pope's protection. This was virtually a violation of the Convention; for the Legion was mostly composed of Frenchmen, who retained their position in the French army. They were, however, ill-content with the service and the climate, and desertion became frequent. General Dumont, a bigoted Papist, who had formed the Legion, was sent to Rome to restore order, when, putting on the French uniform, he made an harangue to the soldiers, interlarded

with abuse of the Italian Government. Ratazzi did not openly respond to the call of the Chambers to repulse foreign intervention at all risks, but he winked at the assembling of insurrectionary committees, and did not sufficiently provide for the safety of the Pope. Garibaldi appeared once more on the scene, organized a rising at Geneva, and had got as far as Arezzo on his way to Rome when Ratazzi caused him to be arrested. He was sent to Alexandria, where the garrison gave him an ovation; while at Florence the streets resounded with cries of "Death to Ratazzi!" who was obliged to shut himself up in his house. Garibaldi was dismissed to Caprera. When the French Government remonstrated against his conduct, he made many false and evasive replies. A few of the insurgents, among them Garibaldi's son Menotti, entered the Papal States, but were easily repulsed by the Pope's troops.

Some more indirect attempts of Ratazzi against Rome, by permitting Italian troops to cross the frontier in contravention of the understanding with France, led to such serious remonstrances from Napoleon that Ratazzi was dismissed, and General Menabrea became Minister, with a Cabinet more agreeable to the Emperor. Meanwhile Garibaldi had again escaped, and Napoleon, advised of the anxiety of Pio Nono and Cardinal Antonelli, ordered his fleet to proceed to Cività Vecchia. Garibaldi was favourably received in the places on his line of march; the Papal colours were pulled down, and the Italian ones substituted. He defeated the Pontifical troops at Monte Rotondo (October 25th), which commands Rome on the north; but before he could enter the city French troops had arrived from Cività Vecchia, who joined the Papal troops in pursuit of the now retreating Garibaldi, and inflicted on him a severe defeat at Mentana. Garibaldi, on gaining Italian territory, surrendered himself to General Ricotti; and after a few weeks' detention, he was again dismissed to Caprera.

Garibaldi's
attempt on
Rome.

The affair at Mentana converted the cooling sympathies of the Italians for France into hatred. The French, indeed, evacuated Rome, but only retired to Cività Vecchia, as if to secure a constant entrance. But the time was fast approaching when Rome, like a ripe pear, would fall of itself into Victor Emanuel's mouth. Italy was still full of disorder. There were many conspiracies and risings of Red Republicans and clerical and Bourbon reactionaries. The state of the finances

necessitated increased taxation; payment was in some cases resisted, and had to be enforced by the military.

Rome incor-
porated
with Italy,
1870.

Italian history presents nothing more of importance till the breaking out of the war between France and Prussia, and the overthrow of Napoleon in 1870. Italy declared her neutrality, July 24th, and the Government, foreseeing that the war must have a decisive effect on the Roman question, concentrated troops on the Papal frontier. The French, having need of their troops at Cività Vecchia, withdrew them in August; and after their fatal defeat at Gravelotte, Victor Emanuel notified to Pio IX. that his army must enter the pontifical dominions to preserve order and protect the Pope himself against revolutionists. The advance of the Italians, under General Cadorna, was opposed only in a few skirmishes. When they arrived at Rome, the garrison was summoned. As the reply was not prompt, a few breaches were made in the walls, when the Pope ordered a surrender, and the Italians entered Rome, September 20th. The people voted annexation to Italy by a great majority, October 2nd. Pio IX. fulminated the major excommunication, but without naming the King. He had in vain applied to Austria and Spain. The latter country had just accepted a sovereign of his opponent's family.

The Pope
declared
infallible.

The destruction of the Pope's temporal rule passed almost unnoticed, overshadowed by the portentous struggle in France. A new parliament, including deputies from the Papal States, voted their incorporation with Italy, December 29th, and the removal of the seat of government to Rome was fixed for the following June. As if to compensate the Pope for the loss of his temporal power, a great addition was made about this time to his spiritual dignity. A General Council, the last since that of Trent, voted the Pope's infallibility by a large majority, July 13th, 1870. The idea seems to have been suggested by some Jesuits. It had often been debated whether a Pope or a Council were superior. To accept infallibility at the hands of a Council seemed an acknowledgment of its superiority; but to this it was replied, that it was not called to confer infallibility, but merely to declare it. The decree was opposed by many foreign bishops, some of them the most strenuous upholders of the temporal power, as Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, and the Austrian Dr. Döllinger.

The war between France and Prussia is connected with the affairs of Spain. The recent history of that country consists mostly of domestic dissensions, and those of an ignoble kind. There were, indeed, many parties, as the Pan-liberals, the Progresistas, the Democrats or Republicans, the Moderados, the Clerical party, etc.; but all, with the exception of the Republicans, who were few in number and without influence, disputed only about the choice of a sovereign or a minister. There were many sudden revolutions, led by military men, but none for any great principle. Centuries of bigotry and clerical rule, the result of Philip II.'s policy and of the Inquisition, had extinguished all public opinion, every noble aspiration; hence their endurance of Isabella II., a woman who had failed to gain the respect of her subjects.

But though Isabella was nominally sovereign, she did not reign; that was the function of her Prime Ministers, and hence a continual struggle for the post. O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, of Irish descent, was the best of these mayors of the palace. Ostensibly of the Pan-liberal party, he made one of his own out of the rest. Arrived at power in 1854 through Espartero, whom he ousted, he was in turn driven out by Narvaez, but regained his post in 1858, and retained it till 1863. His fall was occasioned by the withdrawal of Spain from the Mexican expedition, which displeased Napoleon III. He was succeeded for a short time by Miraflores, and then by Narvaez, whose reactionary policy caused O'Donnell's recall in 1865. Isabella's favourite at this time was Marfori, a domestic of the palace, and she, like her mother, sent large sums abroad to support her numerous children.

One of O'Donnell's first acts after returning to power was to recognize Italy, thus throwing over the queen's kinsmen, the sovereigns of Naples and Parma, and insulting the Pope. O'Donnell was not liked at Court, and having made himself unpopular by many executions after a foolish insurrection at Madrid, Narvaez again seized the helm in July, 1866. His policy was retrograde. By a *coup d'état*, December 30th, he dissolved the Cortes, arrested 123 Members, and caused the President, Rosas, and thirty-five others to be transported.

Narvaez died suddenly in April, 1868, and was succeeded by Gonzales Bravo, also an Absolutist. O'Donnell had also died suddenly at Biarritz, in November, 1867. Bravo transported several military chiefs, including Marshal Serrano;

Serrano
Regent,
1869.

but he, as well as the Queen, were soon overthrown. In September, 1868, Admiral Tapete had prepared an insurrection at Cadiz, where he was joined by Prim. Their programme was the sovereignty of the people. Serrano and other banished generals contrived to return, and proclaimed universal suffrage as the panacea for Spain's ills. Revolutionary juntas were established in several towns; that at Seville first demanded the fall of the reigning dynasty. Isabella, then at St. Sebastian, dismissed Bravo, who fled to France, and appointed General Concha in his place. But the Royalists were defeated by Serrano at the bridge of Alcolea, on the Guadalquivir, and a Provisional Government was established at Madrid, with Serrano at its head, and Prim Minister at War. Barcelona, Saragossa, and other towns rose against the Queen, who fled to France. Napoleon III. lent her the château of Pau, but declared himself neutral. A new constitution was promulgated in June, 1869, and Serrano was elected Regent. He expelled the Jesuits, dissolved many religious communities, and proclaimed liberty of conscience; but the Pope's Nuncio still remained at Madrid, with a Spanish stipend.

Amadeo I.,
1870.

The problem was, to find a candidate for the throne; for Serrano and his party had no notion of a Republic. Don Carlos, the rightful heir, had been defeated, in 1860, in an attempt to regain the crown, and compelled to renounce it by an oath. In 1865 arose what was called the "Iberian" party, which wished to unite the whole Iberian peninsula under Dom Luis, King of Portugal; but the Portuguese were averse to such a union, and Luis declined the offer. After the renunciation of Don Carlos, Don John, his younger brother, had claimed the crown; and when Isabella fled, he transferred his pretensions to his son, Don Carlos, Duke of Madrid, who was proclaimed by his party as Charles VII. But he found few adherents. The Duke of Montpensier, Isabella's brother-in-law, proposed by some, was not approved of by the victorious generals. Espartero declined the proffered crown. It was then offered to Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and his acceptance of it, though afterwards withdrawn, occasioned the fatal war between France and Prussia, under circumstances to be presently related. During that war Spain declared her neutrality, and was one of the first Powers to recognize the French Republic, by which it was followed. At length, in November, 1870, the Cortes elected the Duke of Aosta, second

son of Victor Emanuel, who assumed the crown he had once refused, and with it the title of Amadeo I.

The Franco-German war of 1870 was the result of Napoleon III's political situation. The events of the year 1866 had occasioned great discontent in France. A strong opposition, led by Thiers and Jules Favre, made damaging attacks upon the imperial government. It was charged with dangers incurred abroad from the establishment of Italian unity and of the North German Confederation, which were attributed to Napoleon's undecided policy, and to the principle of substituting nationalities for the ancient theory of the balance of power. Other grounds of complaint were the abortive mediations in Poland and Denmark, and between Italy and the Pope; the congresses so often proposed in vain; the failure of the Mexican business, and of the designs upon Belgium and Luxembourg; the meddling with Eastern policy, and the net of intrigues all over the world. Napoleon had become so despotic that for some time he had not allowed the debates to be published. The finances were in the greatest disorder, yet 900 million francs had been spent in reconstructing and embellishing Paris. Personally the Emperor had lost much of his former energy, owing probably to his bad state of health. It was evident that personal rule could not last much longer, and that even a successful war, though it might check, could not avert its fall.

Discontent
in France.

The years 1867 and 1868, however, passed over without any very striking events. Napoleon perceived the necessity for some changes. The Ministers who could not before appear in the Chambers were henceforward authorized to take part sometimes in the debates (January, 1867). As if prescient of the approaching struggle, considerable reforms were made in the army. In Paris and the larger towns the elections of 1869 were adverse to Imperialism. In July a new, but short-lived, Ministry was formed, on the principle of parliamentary responsibility. The murder of Le Noir by Prince Peter Bonaparte added to the unpopularity of the Imperial Court. To disarm increasing opposition, a revised Constitution was sanctioned by a *plébiscite*, May 8th, and a clause in it enabled the Emperor to adopt that method to settle any disputed questions. But it was ominous that 50,000 soldiers had voted "No." A new Ministry was now appointed, with the exception of Ollivier, who retained office. Count Daru was succeeded

Napoleon's
perplexities.

by the Duke of Gramont, a pliant courtier, and Marshal Niel was replaced by the incapable Marshal Lebœuf.

The Spanish
Crown.

Sensible of the change of public opinion, except among that ignorant multitude to whom he loved to appeal, Napoleon III. felt the necessity for some brilliant deed to retrieve the drooping prestige of his dynasty; and the acceptance of the Spanish crown by a prince of the House of Hohenzollern offered an opportunity to fix a quarrel on the Power which had principally overshadowed his own glory. Prince Leopold was no member of the Royal Prussian house, though the offspring of a common ancestor many centuries ago. He had been selected by General Prim for the Spanish crown, as possessing the requisite qualifications of belonging to a princely family, of being a Roman Catholic, and of age. As a Prussian subject and distant kinsman, Prince Leopold had requested and obtained from King William I. permission to accept the proffered dignity; but had withdrawn his acceptance when it was found to be opposed by the French Emperor. Napoleon III.'s grudge against Prussia had been aggravated by the prompt and decided refusal of Bismarck in the spring of 1869 to help him in the acquisition of Luxembourg and Belgium, on his allowing Prussia a free hand in Germany. It is said, indeed, that Napoleon himself was not desirous of war, and his practices to obtain territory without incurring that risk, corroborate this opinion. But he was surrounded by persons who urged him on, the chief of whom were the Empress, the Duke of Gramont, and Marshal Lebœuf. The French Cabinet was ill informed as to the state of Germany. Their envoys had reported a general dislike of Prussia in the Southern States, and the probability of their supporting a French invasion. The Emperor had also been deceived about the condition of his own army, which Lebœuf had neglected, though he falsely represented its efficiency.

France fixes
a quarrel on
Prussia.

The French Cabinet, not content with the withdrawal of Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, required King William I. to pledge himself that he would never sanction his candidature for the Spanish crown, if renewed; and the French Ambassador, Benedetti, rudely accosted the King with this demand on the public promenade at Ems. It was of course refused, for there was no alternative but humiliation. France declared war, July 19th, 1870. The new German Constitution was now brought to the test. The Northern *Bund* voted

120 million thalers (18 millions sterling) towards the expenses; the Southern States, instead of the anticipated lukewarmness, or even hostility towards the North, announced with alacrity their intention to take part in the war. A French aggression was indeed precisely the thing to inspire Germany with but one feeling, and to consolidate its unity. The Germans were divided into three armies. Two, composed of North Germans, consisted of 61,000 men under General Steinmetz, and 206,000 men, including the Saxon corps, under Prince Frederick Charles. The South German army, under the Prince Royal, amounted to 180,000 men, mixed with Prussians; total 447,000 men, with a reserve of 112,000. The whole was under the command-in-chief of the King of Prussia, assisted by Von Moltke and Von Roon. The King arrived at his headquarters at Coblenz, August 2nd. All the European Powers had declared their neutrality. England alone had offered mediation, which was declined by both parties.

The French were earlier in the field. Their army consisted of about 300,000 men, and was commanded by the Emperor in person, with Marshal Leboeuf as chief of the staff. Eugénie was made Regent during the Emperor's absence. The French plan is said to have been to assemble 150,000 men at Metz, 100,000 at Strassburg; and after uniting the two armies, to cross the Rhine between Rastatt and Germersheim, and to invade Baden, while Canrobert covered the French frontier with 50,000 men. Had this plan been carried out before the Germans assembled in force, the war might have taken a totally different turn; but Napoleon lost a fortnight in unaccountable inaction. His delay has been variously accounted for. Some ascribe it to bodily and mental weakness; others say that his army was not in a fit state to advance, and that the commissariat broke down. However this may be, a defensive attitude, so repulsive to French troops, demoralized the army. Napoleon made a show of taking the offensive by a futile attack on Saarbrück, August 3rd, which the Germans did not mean to defend. Young Prince Napoleon was present with his father at what was called his "baptism of fire." It was a mere piece of stage effect. On the following day the defeat of the French under McMahon at Weissemburg, by the Prince Royal, initiated an almost uninterrupted series of German victories. McMahon was again completely defeated at Wörth, August 6th, where he was wounded. On the same day, the army

Campaign
of 1870.

under Prince Frederick Charles carried the heights of Spicheren. Both French wings being now compromised, they retired into French territory in the direction of the Moselle.¹

By the middle of August the Germans had got into Lorraine. Lunéville, Nancy, and other towns surrendered to small detachments of cavalry. The command of the French army was disorganized, Napoleon, still nominal chief, seemed paralyzed. Lebœuf retired and was succeeded by Bazaine, who made Metz his centre of operations. McMahon, who had retreated to Châlons, and Trochu, who had also a corps at that place, were to join him there; but the plan was frustrated by a manoeuvre of Von Moltke. Napoleon and his son had retired first to Verdun, and then to Châlons; whence, being coldly received by the troops there, he went to Courcelles, near Reims. In a military view he was now become a cipher. At Paris demands had been made for his abdication, and he was probably afraid to go there; though it might have been better for his dynasty.

Battles of
Gravelotte
and Sedan,
1870.

The BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTÉ, August 18th, the bloodiest of the war, may be said to have decided the campaign. The Prussians gained the victory chiefly by their artillery, Von Moltke having united eighty-four guns in one battery. But there was a loss of about 20,000 men on each side. Bazaine now threw himself into Metz, where he was blockaded by the army of Prince Frederick Charles. Von Moltke directed the army of the Crown Prince, with the Saxons, to march upon Paris. McMahon, who was at Reims with 100,000 men, should now have marched to Paris, united all the French forces before it, and given battle there; but the Emperor directed him against his better judgment, to relieve Metz, and accompanied his march. Being overtaken by the enemy's advanced guard, several combats ensued, and especially one at Beaumont, near Sedan, August 30th, in which the French were defeated, and their passage through the Ardennes cut off. Next day they were surrounded in a sort of amphitheatre, the heights of which were occupied by the German artillery. The German

¹ For a full account of it see *The Franco-German War, 1870-1871*. Translated from the German official account by Capt. F. C. Clarke, R.A. With plans. London, 1874. See also *Tableau Historique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*, Berlin, 1871; Sorel, *Histoire Diplomatique de la Guerre Franco-Allemande*. Meding, *De Sadowna à Sedan*.

army numbered about 200,000 men; McMahon's, diminished by the previous fights, counted only about 112,000. On the first of September was fought the **BATTLE OF SEDAN**. The French made a brave resistance; but a wound, which obliged McMahon to resign the command, was fatal to their chances. The German batteries closed in upon them, while their own had been demolished. Whole regiments of French were made prisoners, or fled in confusion into Sedan; among these last was the Emperor, who had been present at the battle. In the evening the Germans began to bombard the town. In a Council of War, all the French generals declared that resistance was useless. Napoleon wrote to the King of Prussia, surrendering himself a prisoner; and on September 2nd the town capitulated. The French soldiers were disarmed and made prisoners, the officers dismissed on parole. Napoleon, after an interview with William I., was escorted to the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, assigned to him as a residence.

The news of this disaster occasioned great uproar at Paris. The Empress fled to England, and, on the 4th of September, the deputies, coerced by the National Guard and a mob, decreed the fall of the imperial dynasty, and the establishment of a Republic. Gambetta, a young advocate, who had signalized himself by a violent attack on the Emperor, now took the lead, and became Minister of the Interior, with Jules Favre as Foreign Minister. The deputies of Paris constituted themselves a Provisional Government; and General Trochu, made governor of Paris by the Empress Regent, turned with fortune, and retained his post under the Republic. Thiers, who had no post in the Government, undertook a bootless mission to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Florence, to solicit help.

After the fall of Sedan, Prince Frederick Charles blockaded Bazaine in Metz, while the rest of the German army resumed the march to Paris. That capital was invested September 19th, and, on October 5th, King William established his headquarters at Versailles. Part of the French Government retired to Tours, whither also Gambetta proceeded, after escaping from Paris in a balloon. He organized the defence of France with indomitable energy and resolution, though, after the fall of Metz, the case was clearly hopeless. Marshal Bazaine was compelled to surrender that place through want of provisions, October 27th, when 145,000 efficient soldiers, besides 30,000

Fall of the
Second Em-
pire, 1870.

Paris
invested.

men in hospital, became prisoners of war. There were now prisoners in Germany, after a war of three months, besides the Emperor, four French marshals, 140 general officers, 10,000 officers of lower rank, and 340,000 soldiers. Marshals Lebœuf, Canrobert, and Changarnier were in Metz.

The Germans had also been successful in other quarters. Strassburg had surrendered, September 28th, after a damaging bombardment. Dijon was several times won and lost. Gambetta, by extraordinary efforts, had organized what was called the "Army of the Loire," of some 150,000 men, under the command of Aurelle de Paladine. But this general was at last completely defeated at Beaune la Rolande, November 28th. The Tours Government accepted the services of Garibaldi, who seems to have been actuated by the spirit of adventure rather than by any liking for the French. He collected a band of followers of all nations at Besançon, but effected little or nothing.

Distress in
Paris.

Meanwhile the state of Paris was growing daily worse. To the miseries of the siege was added domestic sedition. The *Commune*, headed by Flourens, seized Trochu, Favre, and Arago, the leading members of the Government, but they were rescued by the National Guard. Among several fruitless sallies, one of the most important was that of November 30th, led by General Ducrot, when the French, issuing out in two columns, each of 30,000 men, overthrew the Würtembergers and Saxons, and got possession of several villages on the Marne; but the attack was not properly supported, and, on the 2nd of December, the French were driven back. Want was now growing into actual famine. By the end of October, butchers' meat had entirely failed, and resort was then had to the flesh of horses and asses. At the beginning of 1871 the famine was become almost unendurable. Small portions of horseflesh, and of bread made of bran, were distributed. Many of the poorer sort died of cold and hunger. The bombardment, though not causing much damage, kept the citizens in continual fear. Yet the Parisians, accustomed to all the luxuries of life, bore their privations and dangers with wonderful fortitude. There was no talk of surrender. Men of the higher classes served on the ramparts as common soldiers, and encouraged the rest by their example.

A last sally with 100,000 men, in the direction of Versailles, made on the 19th of January, seemed at first to promise

success, but was ultimately repulsed with great loss. Trochu now resigned his governorship. At this time all the places in the east of France, except Belfort, had capitulated; in the west the Germans had penetrated to Rouen. The French Government had retired to Bordeaux; yet Gambetta persisted in a hopeless defence. The civilians, for want of military knowledge, were more obstinate than the generals, and thus brought on their country many needless calamities. In the north, General Faidherbe, with an army of 120,000 men, first collected by General Bourbaki, was defeated by Manteuffel at Amiens, and again irretrievably by General von Göben at Beauvoir, January 18th. The Germans had taken Le Mans on the 12th, in spite of the able resistance of Chanzy, one of the most capable of the French Commanders,¹ and the army of the Loire was no longer capable of resistance.

Jules Favre went to Versailles, January 23rd, to negotiate a capitulation, but rejected Bismarck's terms as too hard. The bombardment was now redoubled, and as provisions sufficed not for a week, it was necessary to come to terms. Preliminaries were arranged, January 26th, on the following principal conditions:—an armistice till February 19th; the garrison of Paris, except 12,000 men to keep order, to be prisoners of war; the German troops to occupy all the forts; the blockade of Paris to continue, but the city to be revictualled when arms had been delivered up; Paris to pay 200 million francs within a fortnight; a constituent Assembly to meet at Bordeaux to settle terms of peace; meanwhile the respective armies to remain *in statu quo*. The armistice applied also to the fleets, but at sea nothing worth relating had been done.²

Paris
capitulates.

Gambetta, despite the capitulation, proclaimed resistance to the last; but Jules Favre was despatched to Bordeaux to put an end to his Dictatorship. The French army of the East of 80,000 men, being completely cut off and in miserable plight, took refuge in Switzerland at the beginning of February, and delivered up their arms to the Swiss militia. The capitulation of Belfort on the 16th was the last act of the war. It had heroically endured a siege since November 3rd, and the garrison was allowed to march out with military honours. A National Assembly at Bordeaux elected Thiers,

Frankfurt
treaty, 1871.

¹ Villefranche, *Histoire du Général Chanzy*.

² See Ducrot, *La défense de Paris*; D'Heylli, *Journal du Siège de Paris*.

who had been returned by twenty electoral circles, President of the Republic. He and Jules Favre, Foreign Minister, negotiated at Versailles the preliminaries of a definitive peace, which were signed February 26th. France was to cede Alsace (except Belfort), German Lorraine with Metz, Thionville, and Longwy; to pay an indemnity of 5,000 million francs (200 millions sterling); the German troops to remain in France till it was paid; portions of Paris to be occupied by the Germans till the National Assembly should ratify the preliminaries. Agreeably to this last condition, 40,000 German troops marched through the Barrière de l'Etoile, March 1st, and bivouacked in the Champs Elysées, but retired on the 3rd, the preliminaries having been accepted. The definitive **TREATY OF FRANKFURT** was signed May 10.

Russia repudiates the Treaty of 1856.

Thus was terminated, in less than half a year, one of the greatest wars on record. It annihilated for a time the military power of France and her influence in the affairs of Europe. Russia eagerly seized on the occasion. Towards the end of October Prince Gortchakov haughtily repudiated that clause in the Treaty of 1856 which prohibited Russia from having any fleets or arsenals in the Black Sea. Lord Granville protested, and Odo Russell was sent to Versailles to inquire if Russia acted with the approval of Prussia. Hereupon Bismarck proposed a Conference, which was held in London early in 1871; but England stood alone, and suffered a somewhat ignominious defeat.

German Empire established, 1871.

The success of the German arms under the conduct of Prussia raised throughout Germany an enthusiasm for that country, and a desire to revive a German Empire by placing King William at its head. The King of Bavaria intimated early in December that he had obtained the consent of the other German Sovereigns and free towns to his proposal that the King of Prussia should take the title of German Emperor. The Diet of the North German Confederation sanctioned this title, as well as a federal union with Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Württemberg, and Bavaria. The new Empire was solemnly proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, January 18th, 1871; on which occasion Baron Moltke was made a Count, and Count Bismarck a Prince. It was no revival of the Holy Roman Empire, which, as Voltaire remarks, was neither holy nor Roman; nor was the title of "King of the Germans" to be revived, which would have clashed with

the rights of the minor German kings. The new Empire was indeed little more than an adhesion of the States of Southern Germany to the Northern Confederation as a nucleus.

Thus, in the period of little more than a decade, one large Empire rose upon the ruins of another, whilst the equilibrium of the European system was materially altered by the establishment of two powerful States in its very centre—the Italian Kingdom and the German Empire. If we compare the work of Cavour and Bismarck in founding these two States, Cavour's must be pronounced the more complete; for Italian unity is perfect under one Sovereign, whilst that of Germany consists only in a confederation of various States bound together by treaties which may not always bear a stress without breaking. It must, however, be acknowledged that Bismarck's task was the more difficult one; for Cavour was helped by the revolutionary spirit of the populations annexed, through hatred of their governments, whilst no such symptoms showed themselves in Germany, or, at all events, more rarely, and in a milder form. If we compare the characters of the two great statesmen we discover in both the same far-sighted views, equal skill in the choice of means and instruments, the same unwavering fortitude and perseverance, the like daring combined with prudence.

German
and Italian
Unity.

CHAPTER LXXIV

1871-1878

THE RECOVERY OF FRANCE AND THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

Europe
after the
war.

THE Franco-Prussian war was followed by six years of peace.¹ The Treaty of Frankfurt was signed and ratified in May, 1871: it was not till April, 1877, that the Russo-Turkish war began. But none the less did the war of 1870 constitute an epoch in European History. Congresses no longer dictated terms to the combatants, and Holy Alliances were out of date. The growth of the rivalry of peoples, and of the feeling of nationality, had been forcibly illustrated by the German seizure of Alsace and Lorraine, and by the Italian occupation of Rome. It remained to be still further exemplified by the continued risings of the peoples of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Serbia against the Turks.

France
after 1871.

For the moment, however, the characteristic of European History was that of calm, taking advantage of which France set to work to pay off her debt to Germany, and to carry out necessary reforms. Barely has the vitality of France been more conspicuously illustrated than during the years immediately succeeding the Franco-Prussian war.² The instalments of her debt to Germany were paid with ease, her soil was liberated from the foreigner, and she recovered from the wounds inflicted by the war no less than by the Communists in Paris, Lyons, St. Etienne, Limoges and Marseilles. In

¹ For the period covered by this chapter the following will be found useful: Seignobos, *Histoire politique de l'Europe Contemporaine* (1814-1896); Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*; Le Faure, *Histoire de la guerre d'Orient*; Leroy-Beaulieu, *La France, la Russie, et l'Europe*; Busch, *Our Chancellor*; Klaczko, *The Two Chancellors*; Gambetta, *Discours*; Hippeau, *Histoire Diplomatique de la Troisième République*; Forbes, *William of Germany*; Holland, *The European Concert on the Eastern Question*; Bodley, *France*.

² See Chandordy, *La France et la suite de la guerre de 1870-71*.

May, 1871, the Government of Versailles was obliged to capture Paris, and to overthrow the domination of such men as Cluseret, Delescluze, and Paschal Grousset. Having successfully crushed the revolutionists in Paris and other working centres, the National Assembly was able to turn its attention to the work of reorganization. A law passed on September 3, 1871, declared that the Assembly was possessed of constitutional powers, and that the President of the Republic was responsible to it. Till May, 1873, Thiers remained at the head of affairs, carrying out rapidly and effectively the required reforms.¹ Before the end of 1872 the finances had been reconstituted, order had been restored, and, by a law passed on July 27, 1872, the task of improving the army had been taken in hand. All classes agreed in the necessity of military reorganization, which was completed by the law of March, 1875. During these years Thiers and the Assembly had by no means worked together harmoniously. Though united on the question of the necessity of paying the German indemnity as soon as possible, and of freeing France from its occupation by foreign troops, the President and the Assembly differed with regard to the future Government of France. A large majority of the Assembly were reactionary and monarchist, and opposed to the final establishment of a Republic. Though Thiers himself sympathised with constitutional monarchy, he was convinced that a Royalist restoration would lead to civil war, and that it would be possible to found a Conservative Republic. In his struggle against the reactionaries, Thiers was aided by the fact that they were divided into three parties, (1) Legitimists, (2) Bonapartists, (3) Orleanists, while the greater number of the bye-elections showed that the country favoured Republican views. On November 13, 1872, Thiers, having arranged for the early payment of the indemnity, and having established a national army, sent to the Assembly a famous message, in which he declared that the Republic existed, as the legal Government of the country, that every Government should be Conservative, and that no society could live under a Government of another kind. In spite of his services Thiers was bitterly attacked by the Monarchists. Napoleon III. died at Chisel-

The administration of Thiers.

The fall of Thiers, 1873.

¹ See Jules Simon, *Le Gouvernement de M. Thiers*; Doniol, *M. Thiers* (1871-1873).

hurst on January 9, 1878, and the supporters of his son, Prince Napoleon, were encouraged. A coalition of the three monarchical groups ably conducted the campaign against the President, who was also attacked by the extreme Left under Gambetta. The persecution of Ultramontanism in Germany made it popular in France, and on April 4, 1878, Buffet, a Monarchist and Clericalist, succeeded Grévy as President of the Chamber.

On May 24 Thiers was driven from office, and was succeeded by Marshal MacMahon, who formed a ministry under the Duc de Broglie. The Government was essentially Bonapartist and Clerical, public offices were bestowed on supporters of the late dynasty, the Roman Catholic agitation was encouraged, and several hostile journals were suppressed.

Before, however, attempting to solve the constitutional problem, an attempt was made to reorganize the monarchical party by bringing about a fusion between the elder and younger branch of the Bourbons. The Comte de Chambord, the heir to Charles X., and the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, were respectively the legitimist and Orleanist candidates. As the former had no children, it was settled that the Comte de Chambord should come first to the throne. Already on June 8, 1871, the Assembly had annulled the Act of 1832 and 1848, excluding the members of the Bourbon and Orleanist families from the throne. The way was thus cleared, the Government of MacMahon was practically pledged to a Bourbonist restoration, and a *coup d'état* would probably have been carried out had the Comte de Chambord been amenable. But his refusal to adopt the tricolour flag rendered hopeless the Royalist cause.

Like the English Stuart Kings the Comte de Chambord believed in the Right Divine, and resented all attempts to extract from him constitutional guarantees.¹ These negotiations came to an end in October, and in November the Provisional Government, which on the day after the close of the war had been proclaimed at Bordeaux, came to an end. The Act of November 19, 1873, instituted the *Septennat*, by which was assured to the President a period of office extending over seven years. During 1874 the attacks made by the French Catholic press on Germany led to rumours of a rupture between the two countries. The Kulturkampf laws, directed against the Prussian Catholics, were the cause of this outburst, and the

¹ See Chesnelong, *La Campagne Monarchique d'Octobre, 1873*.

The Comte
de Cham-
bord.

The
Septennat,
1873.

French ministry in order to avoid foreign complications was constrained to check the outspoken criticisms of the journals.¹ Most of the year, however, was occupied in discussions on the kind of government which should succeed the *Septennat*. The Broglie ministry fell in May, 1874, before a coalition of Republicans and Legitimists, the latter of whom had been alienated by the *Septennat*. General de Cisseey became Premier, and under his leadership the Assembly, though unable to restore the Monarchy, refused to agree to any proposals for a Constitution. A change, however, came over the views of the Monarchists, owing to the growth of a Bonapartist agitation in the interest of the young Prince Imperial. In Paris a central Committee of Propaganda was formed, a *plébiscite* was demanded, and some electoral successes were obtained. The love of liberty and hatred of the Empire now proved stronger to many Monarchists than the desire for a Bourbon Restoration. The right centre therefore, alarmed at the revival of the Napoleonic idea, changed its tactics, and at the end of 1874 was found zealously demanding a Constitution. On February 25, 1875, was formally established the Republic. Two Acts passed on February 24 and February 25, together with one passed on July 16, form the Constitution of 1875, which though twice revised still exists. A Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, both elective, were given to France, and these bodies had the power of electing a new President at the end of his seven years' period of office, and of carrying out such changes as both Chambers had agreed upon. The President was appointed for a term of seven years and was re-eligible. He could appoint and dismiss ministers, and with the consent of the Senate could dissolve the Chamber. The Senate was elected for nine years, but one third of its members were to be renewed every three years, "by the vote of an electoral body in the chief town of each department, composed of Deputies, of members of the Council-General, and District Councils (*Conseils d'Arrondissement*) and Delegates from the Municipal Councils."² The Deputies at the Assembly were elected by universal suffrage, and for four years, and both they and the Senators were paid 9,000 francs a year. The Parliamentary Republic thus set up has lasted till the present day.

The Cisseey
Ministry.

Constitu-
tion of
1875.

¹ Hahn, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Preussen*.

² Lebon, *Modern France*, p. 360.

It did not, like the Constitution of 1791, represent abstract principles, for it sprung reluctantly from a National Assembly which rarely represented the views of the majority of Frenchmen. It had found itself compelled to accept a Republic, while it distrusted the democracy. It professed to be an upholder of republican views, but its liberalism was intermittent and more apparent than real. Nevertheless in giving France a Constitution suitable to the exigencies of the moment the Assembly, which desired the restoration of the Monarchy, had deserved well of the nation. In spite, however, of its services after the war, and its success in founding a Republic, the National Assembly became more and more unpopular.

The Buffet
Ministry.

On the resignation of the Cisse Cabinet, Buffet, a former Orleanist, on March 10, 1875, formed a Ministry composed mainly of those who had voted against the Acts by which the Constitution of February was established. The Acts of this ministry only increased the general distrust. In July, 1875, a higher Education Act was brought forward which gave special privileges to the Catholic Church, and in December a law on the Press still preserved a state for siege in Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles. An Assembly which unduly favoured the Church, and feared the people, was not likely to win the confidence of the country, and its dissolution on December 31, 1875, was hailed with joy.

The
Republican
Victory,
1876.

The elections of 1876 gave a victory to the left, though the division of parties was such that for a long time a stable form of Government was impossible. The new Chamber consisted of 368 Republicans of all shades of opinion, ninety Bonapartists, and eighty Royalists. On the meeting of the Chamber, Buffet was succeeded by Dufaure, whose ministry included Waddington, Léon Say, and Ricard. The republican sympathies of the new ministry made it specially obnoxious to the Senate, and out of harmony with the clerical and monarchical views of MacMahon. The whole of 1876 was spent in party quarrels, which continued after Jules Simon had succeeded Dufaure as Premier in December. At last in May, 1877, the President carried out a *coup d'état*, and replaced the Simon ministry by one under the Duc de Broglie, who undertook to "make France step out," and to restore things to their position before the fall of Thiers. The new elections in October, however, brought to a clear issue the rival claims for a Democratic Republic and a clerical Monarchy. The results

The Coup
d'état, 1877.

gave no encouragement to the President and his supporters, and a large Republican majority was returned. On the resignation of de Broglie in November, an anxious period was followed by the formation of a Ministry on December 14 by Dufaure. But the President and the Senate had lost all hold upon the country. The numerous press trials, and the pressure brought to bear upon the electors, had discredited the Administration, and the Monarchists were regarded with distrust and resentment. The influence of Gambetta was paramount, and in 1878 he made a triumphal tour denouncing the clericals as dangerous to the Republic. Till 1879 matters remained in this uneasy condition. The death of Thiers in September, 1877, removed the obvious republican leader, and MacMahon hoped that with the approach of the Exhibition of 1878 the circumstances attending the crisis of 1876 would be forgotten. In this hope he was destined to be disappointed. Though the great Exhibition in Paris was a brilliant success, the truce between parties was only temporary. The confidence of the country in the Republic and in Gambetta was increasing, and when the elections to the Senate resulted in a Republican majority MacMahon hastened, at the beginning of 1879, to resign. He was succeeded by Jules Grévy. Waddington became Prime Minister, and Gambetta was elected Speaker or President of the Chamber. The Waddington Ministry, which included Freycinet with others belonging to the Left, addressed itself specially to four questions, amnesty, the prosecution of the Broglie Ministry of 1877, the removal of the Chambers from Versailles to Paris, and the secularization of education. In spite of much opposition a Bill granting amnesty for those who had not been condemned for offences against the common law was passed. A resolution was carried declaring that the Broglie ministry had betrayed the Republic; it was decided in June that the Chambers should meet in Paris, and lastly a war against religion was entered upon. To reduce the power of the Jesuits over education, Jules Ferry brought in a Bill which was opposed by Jules Simon, but was carried in the Lower Chamber in June, 1879. At the close of the year Freycinet, one of Gambetta's chief supporters, succeeded Waddington, and the laws against the Jesuits were carried out. The year 1880 proved an exciting one for France. The return of such communists as Blanqui and Rochefort to political life testified to the strength of Radical feeling in

Resignation
of MacMa-
hon, 1879.

Influence of
Gambetta.

Attack on
the Jesuits.

The
Gambetta
Ministry,
1881.

France, while Gambetta was regarded as the Emperor of the Republic. On August 9, 1880, he declared that France must reclaim her lost provinces on the first favourable occasion. Though Jules Ferry might succeed Freycinet in September, it was evident that for the moment Gambetta spoke for France, and was the real dictator of French policy. At length in October, 1881, he became the head of a new ministry, and himself took charge of the department of foreign affairs. His attainment of the position of Premier was to a great extent due to his energy during the Franco-Prussian war, and to his open determination to regain for France Alsace and Lorraine, and to his firm Republican views. The death of the Prince Imperial, the young Louis Napoleon, in the Zulu war in South Africa, on June 1, 1881, had strengthened the Republic, and France under Gambetta seemed likely to regain her position in Europe.

Failure of
his Foreign
Policy.

But the adventurous policy pursued in Tonquin, where France was attempting to found a vast colonial settlement, and her entanglements in Tunis, which she occupied in 1881, rendered her unable single-handed to enter upon a war with Germany. The growth of rebellion in Russia, the alienation of England, Italy and Turkey over the Tunisian expedition, and the skilful policy of Bismarck, all contributed to keep France more or less isolated in Europe till the fall of the German Chancellor and the formation of the alliance with Russia.

France and
Europe.

During these years France, though in some danger of a renewal of war with Germany in 1875, had managed to live at peace with her neighbours. Her rapid recovery from the wounds inflicted in the late war, followed by the thorough reorganization of the army, had surprised Bismarck and alarmed many Prussians who favoured an early resumption of hostilities. But for such a groundless war Europe was not prepared, and Bismarck wisely contented himself with strengthening the alliances of Germany, and consolidating her power. Already the German Emperor had made advances to the Court of St. Petersburg, while the fall, in 1871, of Count Beust, the Austrian Minister who advocated a coalition against Prussia, implied the acceptance by the Emperor Francis Joseph of the friendship of the powerful German Empire. Beust was succeeded by Count Andrassy, an Hungarian Minister, who favoured the abandonment by Austria of the policy of interfering in German affairs.¹

The League
of the three
Emperors,
1872.

¹ Beust, *Mémoires*.

In the summer of 1872, the three Emperors met at Berlin, and the Dreikaiserbund was formed. Its specified objects were to maintain the *status quo* in Europe, to check the progress of revolutionary, socialist, and nihilist movements, and to act in unison with regard to the Eastern question. King Humbert of Italy shortly afterwards paid a visit to Berlin, and as England held aloof from Continental Politics, the French Government could find no allies. Bismarck's policy had succeeded, and France was isolated in Europe. Like Metternich, Bismarck stood forth as the Dictator of Europe. His triumphant position was due to the clearness with which he realized what were the true interests of Germany, and to the determination which enabled him to secure the objects of his policy.

The objects
of the
League.

For four years the so-called league of the three Emperors continued in existence, and Germany remained safe from all danger of an attack on the part of France.¹ This harmony of the Great European Monarchies was, however, destined to be interrupted by the revival of complications in the East of Europe, followed by the outbreak of war waged by Russia against Turkey on behalf of the Christian peoples in the Balkan Peninsula. In July, 1875, Herzegovina revolted against the Turks, and received support from Servia and Montenegro. Conflicts also simultaneously broke out in Bosnia between the Christians and Mohammedans, and thousands of refugees fled for safety to the Austrian frontier. Against the Turkish army of some 30,000, the Herzegovinian force of from 12,000 to 14,000 could not hold the field, but by means of a guerilla warfare they harassed the Turks and prolonged their resistance into the winter of 1875-1876. Such a state of things seriously embarrassed Austria, where Slav and Magyar were always ready to seize an opportunity of falling upon one another. Any danger to the maintenance of the *status quo* in the countries immediately bordering upon Austria was always a serious matter for the Government of Vienna. Count Andrassy therefore drew up, on behalf of the three Empires, a scheme of reforms, to be enforced upon Turkey for the benefit of the Insurgent provinces, and the "note" received the approval of England and France. In it five points were specially insisted upon:—the abolition of the farming of

The Eastern
Question.

The
Andrassy
Note, Jan.
31st, 1876.

¹ See Hähn, *Fürst Bismarck*; Busch, *Our Chancellor*; Köhl, *Fürst Bismarck*.

the taxes, the establishment of religious liberty, the application of the direct revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the benefit of those provinces, the establishment of a Commission composed equally of Moslems and Christians to control the execution of the reforms, the amelioration of the industrial condition of the country population. The Porte accepted these propositions, published Imperial *irades* on February 13th and 23rd, and thus for the moment escaped from the interference of the Great Powers. The Andrassy note ultimately failed in its object because it contained no provisions for the execution of the proposed reforms under the supervision of the three Emperors. For years the Sultan had made promises, and it was impossible for the insurgents to believe that the Porte would, except under compulsion, carry out any of the assurances made in the two *irades*. They therefore refused to lay down their arms, and the Andrassy Note was destined to become mere waste paper. Through the spring of 1876, England and Austria endeavoured to bring about the pacification of the revolts, so as to avoid all interference. Fresh insurrections, however, broke out in the disaffected provinces in March and April, and the situation became more and more critical. Russia became uneasy at the failure of England and Austria, and Gortchakov, the Russian Chancellor, arranged to meet Bismarck and Andrassy early in May, to discuss the position of affairs.

Failure of
England and Austria
to pacify
Eastern
Europe.

Murder of
the Consuls
at Salonika
May 6th,
1876.

The
Berlin
Memoran-
dum, May
13th, 1876.

In the meantime an event occurred at Salonika which increased the activity of the reform party and involved Turkey in complications with Germany and France. On the 6th of May, a Turkish mob murdered the Prussian and French Consuls, while in Constantinople, and other places, there were threatening movements against the Europeans. On May 13th, the representatives of Germany, Austria, and Russia, who were in conference at Berlin, embodied their views in a Memorandum declaring that the reforms promised by the Porte were to be carried out, that an armistice of two months would be imposed on the combatants, and that a mixed Commission should at once begin its sittings. France and Italy accepted this Memorandum but England, fearful of extensive territorial changes, refused its adhesion and sent twelve ironclads to Besika Bay. This action, supported as it was by the presence of ships of war belonging to Germany, Italy, Russia, Austria, and Greece, compelled the Porte to punish the authors of the

murder of the Consuls. It was found more difficult to satisfy the German demand of 300,000 francs for the widow of the murdered Consul. Turkish finance was in a chaotic condition, officials had received no pay for months, and all the time the most wasteful extravagance went on unchecked. In Constantinople the opposition to the Government rapidly increased, and on May 29th, the Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed by Midhat Pasha and Hussein Avni, and a few days later was murdered. Murad V. was raised to the throne, but the real power remained in the hands of Midhat Pasha, for Hussein Avni was murdered on June 15th. Midhat favoured the introduction of European methods, and opposed the growth of Russian influence. The Revolution was a practical victory of English over Russian diplomacy, and Sir Henry Elliot replaced Count Ignatiev as the confidential adviser of the Porte. But before Abdul Aziz had been deposed an insurrection in Bulgaria had been suppressed by a number of Bashi-Bazouks, commanded by Abdul Resim, the commander of the army in Roumelia and Bulgaria. It was said that not less than twelve thousand had been massacred, and at Batak the atrocities committed were of the most revolting character. The news of the Bulgarian massacres roused all Europe, and enormously strengthened the hands of the opponents of Turkey.

Deposition
of Abdul
Aziz, May
29th, 1876.

To England the news of the massacres awoke people to the real nature of Turkish rule in the East. The tradition of friendship with the Sultan inherited from the Crimean War still existed in England. In November, 1875, England, by the purchase of shares, had obtained control over the Suez Canal, thus intimating her intention of securing her position in the Mediterranean. To force Turkey to carry out reforms, and to pacify the revolted provinces, had been the object of English policy, and on June 9, Disraeli, in the House of Commons, expressed himself full of confidence with reference to the new era which Midhat Pasha had inaugurated in Turkey. But on June 26 the nation learnt the truth about the Bulgarian atrocities, and at once declared itself strongly opposed to the continuance of Turkish rule over the Slavic and Christian races. The ministry, however, with Disraeli at its head, showed no realization of the strength of public opinion, or of the magnitude of the outrages in Bulgaria; and it was not till September that Elliot was instructed to demand from the Turkish Government measures of reparation

Policy of
England.

and punishment, together with the appointment of an efficient Commissioner in Bulgaria.

Declaration
of War by
Serbia and
Monte-
negro.

Meanwhile events having an important bearing on the future of Europe were taking place. On June 30, Prince Milan of Serbia, and on July 2, Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, declared war upon Turkey, and on July 8 the Tsar Alexander and the Emperor Francis Joseph, with their Chancellors, met at Reichstadt in Bohemia. It seems to have been arranged that no armed intervention should take place for the present, and it was rumoured that the question of partitioning European Turkey had been under consideration. By a Treaty which was then signed Russia agreed to the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the event of the liberation of Bulgaria by Muscovite arms. Thus supported by Germany and Austria, Russia had secured freedom of action in the East, if the concert of Europe failed to force the Turks to carry out reforms.

Treaty of
Reichstadt,
July 8, 1876.

Defeat of
Serbia.

In their war against Turkey the Servians, though led by the Russian General Chernaiev, were defeated, though the Montenegrins were victorious both in the north and south. Without, however, any assistance from Roumania, Greece or Bosnia, which was held in check by Turkish troops, it was evident that Serbia had no chance of holding its own. On September 16, an armistice for ten days was concluded at the instance of the Great Powers, but on September 28, Chernaiev, who had proclaimed Prince Milan King of Serbia, took the offensive, but was driven back by a strong Turkish force. On October 31 Alexinatz was taken and destroyed by the Turks, and the overthrow of the Servians seemed assured. Help, however, was obtained from Russia. On October 30

An armis-
tice en-
forced by
Russia, Oct.
31.

Ignatiev, the Russian Ambassador, presented an ultimatum to the Porte demanding the effective protection of the Christians in Turkey, and the grant to Serbia of an armistice for two months. The Sultan was no longer Murad V., who had died and had been succeeded by his brother Abdul Hamed II. (August 31), who was content to leave the Government in the hands of his ministers. They at once accepted the Russian ultimatum, and on October 31, a two months' truce with Serbia was signed. In order to dispel the anxiety felt by the British Government at the attitude of Russia, the Tsar Alexander explained his views on November 2 to Lord A. Loftus, the British Ambassador. He disclaimed all desire for terri-

Alexander's
views.

torial aggrandisement. He expressed an earnest wish for a complete accord between Great Britain and Russia, but stated clearly that if the Porte refused to carry out the required reforms he would act alone. He assured Lord A. Loftus that he had no intention of occupying Constantinople, but that he was determined to improve the condition of the Christian population in Turkey. He ended by requesting that his assurances might be published in England. Lord Derby, the English Foreign Secretary, at once replied on November 3, proposing that a Conference of all the leading European Powers should be held at Constantinople on the basis of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Lord Beaconsfield, however, represented a more bellicose section of the Cabinet, and at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9, he declared that "if England enters into conflict in a righteous cause, her resources are inexhaustible." On the following day Alexander replied in a speech at Moscow, in which he repeated that if he could not obtain the consent of Europe he would act independently. Warlike preparations were, too, hurried on. Six army corps were formed, a Crimean army was organized, and large reinforcements were ordered for the Caucasus. Military preparations were also made in Turkey, and on November 18 the English Cabinet declared that if Russia occupied Bulgaria, England would occupy Gallipoli and Constantinople. While matters were in this critical condition, the representatives of the Six Great Powers assembled in Constantinople. In a preliminary conference, lasting from December 12 to December 21, the Powers formulated their demands, the object of which was to preserve the Sovereignty and integrity of the Ottoman Empire while securing the Christian population from Turkish violence. On December 23 the formal Conference was opened under the presidency of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Savfet Pasha, who announced that the roar of cannon which interrupted the proceedings inaugurated the birth of a new era of prosperity in the Sultan's dominions.

Lord Derby
and Lord
Beacons-
field.

The Confer-
ence at Con-
stantinople,
November,
1876.

Pressed on all sides the Turks had determined to checkmate the Great Powers by producing a liberal Constitution of their own. It was drawn up by November 21, and when on December 19 Midhat Pasha became Grand Vizier, the Sultan's signature was obtained. On December 23 it was, as we have seen, promulgated, but though full of beneficent provisions, the document

The failure
of the Con-
ference,
January,
1877.

The London
Protocol,
March 31.

Russia de-
clares war,
April 24.

England's
attitude.

was worthless. The Great Powers persisted in their demand for a Foreign Commission, and for a European control over the appointment of Governors, but on these points Savfet Pasha refused to yield. Finally, on January 18, a Great Council of the Turkish Empire, summoned by Midhat, rejected the demands of the Conference. Lord Salisbury, the principal English representative, had solemnly warned the Sultan what would be the results of his obstinacy, but to no purpose. The Conference came to an end, the envoys left Constantinople, and on February 5, 1877, Midhat Pasha, the one Turk in whom Europe had any confidence, was banished, and the direction of affairs fell into the hands of Edhem Pasha and Mahmoud Damad Pasha, both opponents of Russia and reform. On January 31, 1877, Gortchakov, the Russian Chancellor, despatched a circular to the Great Powers asking what they now intended to do. England suggested a year's probation, and on February 28, by her advice, the Sultan signed a Treaty of peace with Servia. Early in March Ignatiev visited Berlin, Paris, Vienna and London, where, with Schouvalov, the Russian Ambassador, he drew up a document known as the London Protocol, which the Six Powers signed on March 31. It called upon the Porte to carry out reforms, to place its army on a peace footing, and to make peace with Montenegro. On April 3 the Protocol was presented to Savfet Pasha and was rejected by the Turkish Government, which appealed to the Treaty of Paris, and refused to allow any outside interference with Montenegro. All hope of preserving peace between Russia and Turkey had now practically disappeared, and on April 13 orders were issued for the mobilization of the whole Russian army; and the Grand Duke Nicholas, brother of the Tsar, was given the command. On April 24 Russia formally declared war, and an army entered Roumania, with which State a Convention had been made on April 16. At the same time a circular note was sent to the Powers by the Tsar, acquainting them with the fact that war had broken out between Russia and Turkey. The English Government, without allies, was forced to accept the inevitable, and to adopt an attitude of neutrality. But Lord Derby, in answer to the Tsar's circular, announced that the English Government would observe a strict neutrality so long as the Suez Canal was not interfered with, Constantinople not occupied, and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus left untouched.

It was not till June 27 that the Russian army crossed the Danube. During the previous weeks Turkish gunboats had attempted to prevent the passage of the river, but though the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea proved of great value, the Danube flotilla was speedily destroyed by Russian batteries, or reduced to inaction. The Russian plan of campaign was to move the central part of the army along the river Jantra to the Balkans, while the right wing took Nicopolis, and the left wing attacked Rustchuk and engaged the Turkish forces in the east of Bulgaria. At the same time it was hoped that another Russian army under Loris Melikov would occupy Armenia. The Russians had, however, underrated the strength of their adversaries, and Muktar Pasha forced his opponents in Asia to retreat upon their own frontier. In Bulgaria the Russians were more successful, and while the Grand Duke Nicholas took in charge the reorganization of the civil administration of Bulgaria with his headquarters at Tirnova, General Gourko seized the Shipka Pass, crossed the Balkans, and, on July 15, was within two days' march of Adrianople. Simultaneously, the Tsarewitch advanced against Rustchuk and a Turkish army, while General Krudener seized Nicopolis on July 16.

Russian
successes.

These unchecked Russian successes caused consternation in Constantinople, and considerable anxiety in London. A change of Turkish ministers and generals was carried out, Mustapha Pasha being made Minister of War, and Mehemet Ali Pasha commander of the army of the Danube. At the same time, in order to safeguard British interests, Admiral Hornby, with thirteen ironclads, was sent to Besika Bay, and 3,000 men to Malta. But already a change had come over the position of affairs owing to the opportune appearance and skilful depositions of Mehemet Ali, of Osman Pasha, and of Suleiman Pasha. While Mehemet Ali occupied the Russian left wing, Osman Pasha, the commander of Widdin, with 40,000 men, seized Plevna, an unfortified village standing at the junction of the roads between Sofia and Sistova, and Nicopolis and Lovatz. In a few days he had fortified it strongly, and was in a position to checkmate the Russian plans. On July 20 General Krudener attacked Plevna, but was repulsed, and on July 30 a second attack failed and cost the Russians 8,000 men. Osman Pasha's forces now amounted to some 50,000 men, and the intrenchments round Plevna had been made

England
alarmed.

The Siege of
Plevna,
1877.

wellnigh impregnable. Fortunately for the Russians Osman did not adopt the offensive, or the Russian position in Bulgaria would have been in serious danger, for the advance of Suleiman Pasha against General Gourko had forced the Russians to retreat from the country south of the Balkans, and to defend the Shipka Pass. Suleiman had been recalled from Montenegro, and sailing from Antivari on July 16, he landed at Dedeagh, and arrived at the scene of operations on July 31. After some preliminary successes Suleiman, neglecting to attack the Russian rear, spent four weeks, from August 19 to September 17, in hurling his troops in a series of useless attacks against the southern entrance of the pass. September 23 saw the last desperate attempt on the part of the Turks to dislodge the Russians, after which Suleiman succeeded Mehemet Ali as commander of the army of the Danube. His operations, like those of his predecessor, showed a want of generalship, and lacked energy and decision, due probably to the fact that he was bought by the Russians. Too much time was wasted in fortifying positions, when the situation required active offensive movements. The result was that the Russian left wing was not broken through, and time was given for Russian reinforcements to arrive.

Meanwhile the Tsar had obtained fresh troops from Roumania, and the army before Plevna was placed under the Roumanian Prince Charles. On September 11 the third battle of Plevna took place under the eyes of the Tsar. In spite of conspicuous bravery on the part of the Russians and Roumanians, and of the heroic efforts of Skobelov, the Turks remained victorious, the Russian losses amounting to 12,000. Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, was then called upon to organize a regular siege of Plevna. For some three months Osman held out. Gradually the whole country, from the Balkans to the Danube, fell into the hands of the Russians, and it became impossible for supplies to enter the beleaguered village. In the second week of December, his food being exhausted, Osman made a desperate effort to break out, and having failed, he surrendered on December 10. The results of the Russian success were at once seen. Three corps advanced across the Balkans, Shipka was taken, and in the last encounter of the war on January 17, 1878, Gourko routed the army of Suleiman Pasha. Three days later the Russians entered Adrianople, and detachments reached Rodosto on the

The fall of
Plevna,
Dec. 10,
1877.

Sea of Marmora, and Charlu on the road to Constantinople. The Russians had been equally successful in Armenia, and had retrieved their early failures. In October, 1877, the Russian armies, being strongly reinforced, drove back Mukhtar Pasha, who, in November, was obliged to take refuge in Erzeroum. On November 17 General Melikov took Kars by assault, and the victory of the Russians was assured. In the west the Montenegrins had taken advantage of the absence of the Turkish troops to reduce Niksich, Antivari, and Dulcigno, and the revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina still continued. Crete had risen demanding union with Greece; Thessaly and Epirus were in rebellion, and the Servians had again taken up arms.

The Russians menace Constantinople, 1878.

The only hope for the Ottoman Empire lay in peace. As early as December 12th, 1877, the Sultan had attempted to secure the mediation of the Great Powers, but had met with no success. At the end of the month he appealed to the Queen of England, who obtained from the Tsar an assurance that if the Sultan applied directly to him he was willing to treat of peace. On January 19th, 1878, Turkish plenipotentiaries arrived at Kasanlik, the head-quarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas, to ask for an armistice, but it was not till January 31st that their request was granted at Adrianople, and the preliminaries of peace signed.

Meanwhile the attitude of England had become a serious factor in the situation, and it seemed that war with Russia was by no means an improbable event. At the opening of Parliament, on January 17th, the Queen's Speech contained the declaration that "some expected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution." It was clearly understood in St. Petersburg that a Russian occupation of Constantinople would be the signal for the outbreak of hostilities with England. Admiral Hornby received orders at the end of January to sail through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, but upon Gortchakov's vigorous protest the order was withdrawn, and on February 13th, the Admiral with his ships anchored at the Prince's Islands about ten miles below the Turkish capital. The danger of war for some weeks was great, but gradually passed away, as negotiations continued between the Porte and Russia. On March 3rd, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Ignatiev and Nelidov on behalf of Russia, and by Server Pasha and Sadullah Bey on

Action of England.

The Treaty of San Stefano, 1878.

behalf of Turkey. Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania became independent; the two former States received considerable cessions of territory, while Roumania gave Bessarabia to Russia and was compensated by obtaining the lower Dobrudsha from Turkey. Bulgaria, extending southwards to the Ægean Sea at the mouth of the Karassu, and with the Black Drina as its western boundary, was formed into an autonomous, tributary Principality, with a Prince chosen by the people and accepted by the Porte with the assent of the Great Powers.

The Reforms laid before the Porte by the Constantinople Conference in 1876 were to be carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Crete was to receive the organization promised in 1868 by the organic law, and an analogous law was to be introduced into the remaining Christian provinces, such as Epirus and Thessaly. In Armenia the Porte promised to defend the inhabitants from the Kurds and to carry out necessary local reforms. The war indemnity was fixed at fourteen hundred million roubles, but owing to Turkey's financial condition Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazid, and the territory between the Russian frontier and the Soghanly mountains was accepted in place of eleven hundred million roubles. The Bosphorus and the Dardanelles were to be open to the merchant ships of all nations in times of peace as well as of war.

Opposition
of Austria
and Eng-
land to the
Treaty.

Danger of
War.

To the Treaty of San Stefano both Austria and England offered a firm opposition, and it was resolved that a Congress should meet at Berlin. But to the demand of Lord Derby that every article of the Treaty should be laid before the Congress, Gortchakov offered a strenuous resistance. War again appeared to be imminent. While Austria prepared to occupy Bosnia and Andrassy obtained a vote of 60,000,000 gulden, Lord Beaconsfield called out the Reserves, and summoned troops from India. Lord Derby, who opposed these drastic measures, did indeed resign, but his successor, Lord Salisbury, was in full accord with the views of the Premier. In a circular of April 1st, 1878, the new Foreign Secretary had no difficulty in showing that the Treaty of San Stefano was fatal to the interests of Europe no less than to those of Austria and England. Count Schouvalov was ordered to find out exactly what the English Government desired, and at the same time Austria explained her reasons for opposing the Treaty. Bismarck was as anxious as Gortchakov for the preservation of peace, and on hearing Schouvalov's report of the wishes of the

English Cabinet, the Tsar decided to accept the British and Austrian demands. On May 30th, a secret agreement was made between Russia and England, and on June 4th, Lord Beaconsfield signed a Convention with the Sultan, engaging, if the Porte carried out necessary reforms, to aid in opposing all future aggression on the part of Russia. Cyprus was handed over to Great Britain to be administered and occupied by her until Russia should have restored her Armenian conquests.

How
averted.

On June 13th, 1878, the Congress met at Berlin under the Presidency of Bismarck, Turkey and the six Great Powers sending their Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers, and England being represented by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury.

Owing in great measure to the skill of Bismarck all difficulties were at length removed, and on July 13th, 1878, the famous Treaty of Berlin was signed. Bulgaria was divided into two provinces, separated by the Balkans. The southern Province was called Eastern Roumelia, and though it remained Turkish it was ruled by a Christian Governor nominated by the Porte with the assent of the Powers. North of the Balkans Bulgaria was an autonomous Principality bereft of the Dobrudscha and the northern part of Macedonia. Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria, and by occupying the Novi-Bazar district that power placed herself between Serbia and Montenegro. Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania, were confirmed in their independence, though the cessions of territory arranged at San Stefano were slightly altered. Montenegro obtained the sea-ports of Antivari and Dulcigno, Serbia secured the district of old Serbia in the upper valley of the Morava, and Roumania, while forced to yield to Russia the country between the Pruth and the northern mouth of the Danube, received the Dobrudscha and the sea-port of Rustendje.

The Treaty
of Berlin,
July, 1878.

In Asia the Tsar restored Bayazid, an important town through which passed European trade from Trebizond to Persia, and while retaining Kars and Batoum, promised that the latter should be erected into a free commercial port. Lastly, at the suggestion of France, the Sultan, who undertook to apply scrupulously in Crete the organic law of 1868, was recommended to cede the southern part of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece.

By the Treaty of Berlin Russia had acquired Bessarabia and

What the
Treaty ac-
complished.

a portion of Armenia, England had secured Cyprus, Austria Bosnia and Herzegovina, and France a lien on Tunis. An important step had been taken towards the emancipation of the Christian peoples inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula from Turkish misrule. Europe now entered upon a period of armed peace, during which the Great Powers gradually turned their attention to commercial enterprise and colonial expansion.

CHAPTER LXXV

1878-1891

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

DURING the twelve years succeeding the Treaty of Berlin Bismarck was the most powerful statesman and Berlin the centre of politics in Europe.¹ England remained to a great extent occupied with domestic legislation and with the Irish question, while Mr. Gladstone, whose influence was immense, cared little for foreign politics, and though compelled to intervene in Egypt, showed no sympathy for colonial expansion. During these years a reaction against the forward policy of Lord Beaconsfield was in progress, and though England was forced into wars in Afghanistan, Zululand, the Transvaal and Egypt, no anxiety was shown by the various Cabinets to extend the British dominion. Till 1891, when Europe first realized the possibility of a Franco-Russian alliance, France remained isolated. The friendship with England, which had been a conspicuous tradition of English foreign policy since the days of Palmerston and Louis Philippe, practically ended with the suppression of Arabi's insurrection in Egypt in 1882. After that event the rivalry of England and France on the sea has become more and more pronounced. Similarly, Russia, during this period, gradually found herself isolated, and her alliance with France was forced upon her partly by financial reasons, partly in order to form a Dual in opposition to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, by means of which Bismarck had preserved the peace of Europe.

Characteristics of the period from 1878 to 1891.

¹ For the events narrated or alluded to in this chapter, consult: Seignobos, *Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine* (1814-96); Milner, *England in Egypt*; Leroy-Beaulieu, *La France, la Russie, et l'Europe*; Philippson, *Friedrich III. als Kronprinz und Kaiser*; Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*; Busch, *Our Chancellor*; Headlam, *Bismarck*.

Russia and
the Treaty
of Berlin.

Policy of
Bismarck.

Alliance be-
tween Ger-
many and
Austria,
1879.

Italy and
France in
Africa.

The Treaty of Berlin caused great indignation in Russia. It had been expected in St. Petersburg that Germany would aid the Tsar to obtain ample compensation for the efforts which he had made to conquer the Turks. Instead of receiving support from Germany, Russia found that Austria, which had not fought at all, had secured a position equal to her own in the Balkan Peninsula. The Emperor Alexander II., furious at the impartiality shown by Bismarck during the Berlin Congress, declared that he had forgotten his engagements in 1870, while Gortchakov pronounced the Congress of Berlin to be the darkest page in his life. Russia had certainly aided Germany in 1870 by her neutral attitude, but Bismarck thought that his support of Russia's destruction of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was an ample recognition of the services of the Tsar. Moreover it was of immense importance to Germany that Austria should be induced to forget Sadowa and turn her attention eastwards. In the face of the rivalry of Russia and Austria in the Balkan Peninsula, it was impossible for the alliance of the three Emperors, concluded in 1872, to continue, and though Bismarck hoped, by means of the personal friendship of the Emperor William with his nephew the Tsar Alexander to avert a war between Germany and Russia, he decided that an alliance with Austria was a necessary precaution. In August, 1879, he met Andrassy at Gastein, and on October 15 the Emperor William signed a Treaty with Austria which, for a time, was kept secret. The shadow of a war with Russia, possibly in alliance with France, hung over the Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna, and compelled them to seek for another ally. This they found in Italy. During the Congress of Berlin Lord Salisbury had apparently expressed his acquiescence in the establishment of French influence in Tunis. Italy, however, had gained nothing at the Congress, and moreover was accustomed to look upon Tunis as offering an opportunity for Italian expansion in Africa. France being already dominant in Algeria, the supremacy of Italy in Tunis could not be entertained, and in 1880, taking advantage of a native rising, French troops entered Tunis, and the Bey signed the Treaty of Bardo (May 12), giving France the protectorate over the country. This Treaty roused the deepest indignation in Italy. Riots took place between French and Italian workmen, the Italian Ministry of Cairoli fell, and was succeeded by that of Depretis, with Mancini as

Foreign Minister. The friendship of France and Italy, so marked in the reign of Napoleon III., came to an end, and after visits of King Humbert to Vienna (1881), and to Berlin (1882), Italy joined the Alliance of Germany and Austria in 1883. Renewed in 1887, in 1891, and in 1896, the Triple Alliance still remains a safeguard of the peace of Europe. At the time, however, of its establishment, the Triple Alliance was not brought into undue prominence, for Bismarck was anxious to keep on friendly terms with Russia. Skilful though this policy might be, the murder of Alexander II. in 1881, and the accession of Alexander III., whose anti-German and strong Slav tendencies were well known, threatened its overthrow. Bismarck did indeed bring about a meeting of the three Emperors at Skiernevice in September, 1884, where he made, with Alexander, a secret Treaty, in which Germany and Russia promised to preserve a benevolent neutrality if either should be attacked. It was only in 1896 that the existence of this Treaty was revealed to Europe.

The Triple Alliance of 1883.

The danger to Germany from Russia in the years 1879-80-81, had been averted partly by the Alliance with Austria, partly by Russian activity in Central Asia, partly by the development, to an alarming extent, of Nihilism. During the latter years of Alexander II.'s life, Nihilism developed at an extraordinary rate, and after the close of the war with Turkey, Russia was bankrupt, disaffected and disorganized. Alexander had carried out great reforms, and the ideas of Western Europe had been introduced before the Russian nation was sufficiently educated to receive them. The Government, which was an absolute autocracy as well as a complicated bureaucracy, was corrupt to the core, and reform was urgently needed. But the social revolutionary party aimed not at reform but at revolution. An extreme party was formed of Terrorists, who believed in adopting desperate measures to attain their ends, and in 1879 the secret organization known as Nihilism was fully prepared. During 1879 and 1880, attempts were made upon the life of Alexander, who, on March 18, 1881, was cruelly murdered. His successor for a time attempted to check the introduction of Western ideas and civilisation, lived in distant palaces surrounded by an army, and allowed Ignatiev to carry out a policy of severity.

Growth of Nihilism in Russia.

Murder of Alexander II., 1881.

Though checked by England at the Treaty of Berlin, the Russian Government, under Alexander III., took advantage

Russian intrigues in Afghanistan, 1878-9.

of the gradual cessation of Nihilist plots, and turned its attention to questions of foreign policy. Already Russian advance in Central Asia had caused uneasiness in England, but in May, 1876, Disraeli had stated in the House of Commons that Russia had a great mission in the East, and that Russian conquests in Asia furthered the cause of civilization. In September, 1878, Russian intrigues in Cabul almost led to war with England. As it was, Shere Ali, the Ameer, appealed in December, 1878, to Russia for assistance. He failed in his object, and died in February, 1879, leaving his son Yakoob Khan as his successor. Yakoob acceded to the demands of the English, and received Sir Louis Cavagnari as resident in Cabul. In September Cavagnari and his escort were murdered, and Lord Roberts, with a large force, entered Cabul in October, and set up another Ameer. But in April, 1880, a Liberal Government came into office, and it was decided to abandon all idea of making a scientific frontier, and to withdraw all British forces from Afghanistan. The famous march from Cabul to Candahar, followed by a victory over Ayoub Khan, who had defeated General Burrows, restored the prestige of the English arms, but had no effect in checking the Russian advance in Central Asia. In 1885 the Penjdeh incident, occasioned by English difficulties in Egypt, again brought England and Russia to the verge of war. Fortunately peace was preserved, and Russia, since 1885, has contented herself with advancing steadily across Asia towards the Pacific.

The murder of Cavagnari in Cabul, 1879.

The Penjdeh incident, 1885.

The effects of the Treaty of Berlin on Eastern Europe.

The success of the policy of Russia in Central Asia stands out in startling contradistinction to the failure of the hopes that were formed in St. Petersburg at the opening of the Russo-Turkish war for material gains in Eastern Europe. The Treaty of Berlin not only put an end to a sanguinary war and effected a territorial revolution in the Balkan Peninsula, but it also created a new political situation fraught with unexpected consequences of vast import to Europe. England and Austria had apparently triumphed at Berlin. The latter secured the post of guardian of the Balkan Peninsula, and England had checked the advance of Russia in the direction of Constantinople, and had set up Bulgaria as a buffer state between Turkey and Russia. Further, on July 9th was published the secret conventions made by the British Government with Turkey in accordance with which England acquired the right of occupying Cyprus as long as Russia

retained possession of Kars and Batoum. It was quite evident that further developments would take place among the Balkan States, and that Russia, though checked in Europe, would look for compensation elsewhere.

The execution of the terms of the Treaty of Berlin was accompanied by various modifications. In February, 1880, England, France and Germany recognized the Independence of Roumania, and in 1881 she declared herself a kingdom under King Charles I. of the German House of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. In 1882 Serbia imitated the example of Roumania and found a king in Milan I. of the Servian family of Obrenovitch. Even greater changes took place in Bulgaria, whose first ruler, elected in 1879, was Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who, till 1881, presided over a democratic constitution which proved unworkable, while Aleko Pasha was appointed by the Sultan to govern Eastern Roumelia. The tendency towards the union of the two portions of Bulgaria soon became irresistible, and on September 17th, 1885, a revolution broke out at Philippopolis, and the Union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia under Alexander of Battenberg was proclaimed, and after some demur accepted by the Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin. A wanton attack by Serbia under King Milan was defeated at the battles of Slivnitsa and Perot, and peace made at Bucharest on March 8th, 1886. But the troubles of the new kingdom were by no means over. The Russian Government had always viewed with dislike the progress of the Bulgarian State, and her agents suddenly kidnapped Prince Alexander and carried him away in August, 1886. Shortly after his return he abdicated, and through the influence of the able minister Stamboulov was succeeded, on July 8th, 1887, by Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a grandson of Louis Philippe. Under Stamboulov the struggle against Russian influence continued till the murder of the Bulgarian minister in 1895 removed the chief opponent to Muscovite domination. Stoilov, the new head of the ministry, was friendly to the government of the Tsar, and Prince Ferdinand decided to reconcile himself with Russia. The Tsar consented to act as godfather of the infant Boris, and Ferdinand allowed his son to be brought up in the faith of the Orthodox Church. Since that event the European Powers have practically recognized the government of Prince Ferdinand.

Roumania
and Servia.

Union of
the two
Bulgarias,
1886.

Reconciliation
of Bulgaria with
Russia,
1896.

Montenegro
and Greece.

The
strength of
Turkey.

Policy of
France,
1877-1891.

The
Boulangier
Agitation.

Difficulties had also arisen in other portions of Eastern Europe before the terms of the Treaty of Berlin could be carried out, and it was not till 1881 that Austria was in firm possession of Bosnia and that Montenegro had received Dulcigno, and Greece Thessaly and part of Epirus. The war between Greece and Turkey in 1897 revealed to a surprised world the fact that the Porte is still a Power to be reckoned with. The overthrow of the Greek troops in a series of battles, and the overwhelming superiority of the Turks has made it evident that the Sultan is able to defend Constantinople from the attacks of any enemy, while the establishment of a number of autonomous states has interposed an effective barrier to Russian aggression. It was quite evident that in her Eastern policy Russia could not hope to receive support from England, Germany, or Austria. The only possible ally was France. During the Eastern war of 1877 France had remained scrupulously neutral. She had united with the other Great Powers in the Berlin Congress, where she had gained the acquiescence of Lord Salisbury and Prince Bismarck in her plans for occupying Tunis.¹ In 1877 Jules Grévy had succeeded MacMahon as President of the Republic, and Gambetta became President of the Chamber. Between 1879 and 1887, the period of Grévy's Presidency, there were no less than twelve ministries, the most famous of the Premiers being Freycinet (1879, 1882, 1886), Ferry (1880, 1883), and Gambetta (1881). During these years, when the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy had drawn an iron circle round France, an agitation was begun in favour of a Dictator who would be strong enough to place the country in an independent position. This irritation, so natural to a sensitive people like the French, led to the ephemeral Boulangist agitation, to a policy of Colonial expansion, and to an alliance with Russia. General Boulanger did, indeed, succeed for about three years in taking advantage of the general discontent, and in exciting uneasiness in foreign countries by his ambiguous attitude. The Boulangist movement revealed "that Caesarism was ever latent in the French nature."² A military adventurer, supported by the Reactionaries and the Socialists, Boulanger, who had been a member of the Goblet ministry which fell May 30th, 1886, nearly succeeded in establishing a dictatorship. But

¹ Busch, *Our Chancellor*, ii, 193.

² Bodley, *France*, ii. 364.

when threatened with the prospect of the overthrow of the Republic the Government showed unexpected vigour. Boulanger, accused of conspiring against the safety of the State, fled, and all danger to the Republic was over.

Though unable to take an active part in European politics, France, after the Treaty of Berlin, entered upon a course of colonial adventures which occupied the attention, and for a time satisfied the aspirations of Frenchmen. It has been said that Bismarck foresaw "that France in Tunis would mean a lasting quarrel with Italy, and probably an appetite for colonial expansion which would render friction with England inevitable."¹ At any rate, Jules Ferry had no difficulty in embarking France upon a career of colonial expansion which led to the beginning of unfriendly relations with England.

French
Colonial
Policy.

Between the years 1880 and 1885 expeditions were sent to Tunis, Tonquin, and Madagascar, while in 1884 the French Congo was founded and a large extent of territory in Senegal was occupied. But this sudden development was for a time checked by the French reverse in 1885 at Langson in Indo-China. Jules Ferry was driven from office (April, 1885), M. de Braza, the famous French explorer, fell into disgrace, and the momentary failure of the forward policy added to the many causes of discontent which rendered Boulangism possible, hostility to England popular, and a Russian Alliance inevitable.

The disaster of
Langson,
1885.

But before the disaster of Langson the French Government had blundered heavily in Egypt. The opening of the Suez Canal, built to a large extent with French capital in 1869, gave Great Britain a vital interest in Egypt, and in 1875 Lord Beaconsfield's purchase of a large number of shares in the Canal secured her influence in its management. A number of English and French had settled in Egypt, and the two governments had agreed to support Tewfik the Viceroy as long as he followed their advice. The interference of European Powers was, however, very unpopular to the Egyptian official class who regarded with jealousy the British and French officers employed by the Khedive. Accordingly, in 1882, Arabi Pasha, an Egyptian soldier, headed a national movement, threatened to depose Tewfik, and seized the fortifications which commanded the harbour of Alexandria. England, thereupon,

France in
Egypt.

Insurrection of
Arabi, 1882.

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1897, p. 788.

France and Italy refuse to co-operate with England.

Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, 1882, and its results.

Treaty between France and Italy, 1885.

The occupation of Massowrah.

English difficulties in Egypt. The Mahdi.

Death of Gordon and fall of Khartoum, 1885.

invited France and Italy to join her in occupying the country in order to put down the revolutionary movements. France, still hampered in Tonquin, refused, and Italy, "owing to a threat by France that her participation would be regarded as a *Casus Belli*,"¹ also declined to assist. England was then left alone, and, probably to the surprise of France, undertook the heavy task of restoring order. A British fleet bombarded Alexandria, which was set on fire by the Egyptians, and much destruction of life and property took place. In September, 1882, a British army under Sir Garnet Wolseley proceeded to Egypt, defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir, and restored Tewfik. The results of the events of 1882 have been considerable. The English occupation of Egypt has been prolonged and a protectorate practically established. The country has been admirably administered, completely reorganized, and saved from a relapse into semi-barbarism, while the Soudan has gradually been reconquered. France and Italy, profoundly annoyed at having lost so admirable a chance of directing European policy, made an agreement in 1885, the object of which was to create a condominium of three in the Valley of the Nile, and to hamper the progress of the English conquest. In consequence of this agreement an Italian colony was established at Massowrah. Disaster has, however, attended the attempt to carry through a rash and ill-considered scheme, and beyond embroiling the Italians with the Abyssinians, the treaty of March, 1885, between France and Italy, which was directed against the English occupation of Egypt, has had no harmful effects.

Disasters also attended the early efforts of the British to settle the affairs of Egypt. The appearance of the Mahdi, a religious fanatic, in the Upper Valley of the Nile, was followed by the destruction of the Egyptian garrisons and the fall of Khartoum. The English Cabinet determined to abandon the Soudan to its fate, and in January, 1883, General Gordon, without any troops, was sent to bring away the Egyptian garrisons and officials, while General Baker, with an insufficient army, was despatched to Suakim. Gordon found himself compelled to defend Khartoum against the Mahdi, and when the English Cabinet very reluctantly decided to send an expedition to his rescue the decision was made too late. After several

¹ Stillman, *Union of Italy, 1815-1895*.

battles an advanced column arrived at the Waters of the Upper Nile in January, 1885, only to find that Khartoum had fallen, and that Gordon had been killed. The Soudan was then abandoned, and it was decided that the British should hold Wadi Halfa and Suakim. From Cairo the work of reorganization went steadily on, and reforms were carried out in the army, the finances, and the administration of justice. Never has Egypt been so well governed, or her material resources so carefully developed as during the period from the revolt of Arabi to the present day.

Reforms in
Egypt.

In deserting England at Alexandria France made a grievous error, and the Freycinet Ministry was dismissed (August, 1882) for its shortsighted policy, in not knowing how to preserve French influence in the Valley of the Nile. England was left to watch over the destinies of Egypt, and France embarked upon a policy of Colonial rivalry with her in all parts of the world.

The effect
of the
French
blunder,
1882.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the isolation of France, her hostility to England, and her internal troubles, should have inclined her to enter upon friendly relations with Russia. The French love personal rule, and viewed with approbation the long period of intimate relations between France and Russia, during which President Carnot, who succeeded Grévy on December 3rd, 1887, treated with an autocratic sovereign like Alexander III. France adopted and supported the views of Russia on the Bulgarian Question, and in 1889 and 1891 the French public subscribed willingly when Russia was anxious to raise loans. In 1891 the visit of the French fleet to Cronstadt, followed by the visit of a Russian fleet to France in 1893, proclaimed to the world that a Franco-Russian Alliance confronted the Triple League of Germany, Austria, and Italy. In 1895 M. Hanotaux in the Chamber alluded to the alliance of France and Russia; in 1896 Nicholas II. and the Tsarina visited Paris, and in 1897 President Felix Faure paid a return visit to St. Petersburg. Though France has so far gained little ostensible advantage the close connection of the two countries has been amply demonstrated in the history of the Far East during the last few years.

Franco-
Russian
Alliance,
1891.

Before, however, the Cronstadt festivities had taken place Bismarck had fallen.

Fall of
Bismarck,
1891.

For some thirty years Bismarck's influence had been predominant in Prussia; after the Franco-German war his as-

His peace
policy.

cendency in Europe had gradually become firmly established. The alliance of the Three Emperors kept France isolated in Europe, and in 1878 and the following years he had favoured a French occupation of Tunis. His policy was justified by success. The Tunisian expedition involved France in complications with Italy and Turkey, while England's practical annexation of Egypt has never been forgiven by the French Government. His ability and foresight were equally well attested in the stormy period following the Treaty of Berlin. Russia was naturally furious at the treatment which she had received, and endeavoured to secure a formal alliance with France.¹ But Bismarck rightly felt that in alliance with Austria he was strong enough to stand against the combined forces of France and Russia. And on this occasion fortune favoured him. France became involved in difficulties in Tunis and Tonquin, while Russia was paralyzed by internal disturbances due to the spread of Nihilism. Once the Triple Alliance was made he did all in his power to conciliate Russia, and the continuance of peace among the Great Powers was largely due to his influence. In 1888 the Emperor William I. died, and after a reign of three months Frederick III., so well known in the Franco-Prussian war as the Crown Prince, also died. He was succeeded by the able and masterful William II., whose vigorous policy has proved most beneficial to Germany. It was wellnigh impossible for two such strong characters as the Emperor and his Chancellor to continue to work together, and the fall of the latter was by no means a surprise. Bismarck had taken a leading part in forming modern Germany; his legacy to Europe was an "armed peace" which has lasted from the Congress of Berlin to the present day.

¹ Müller: *Political History in Recent Times* (Trans.).

CHAPTER LXXVI

1891-1900

THE NEW PROBLEMS

THE year of Bismarck's fall saw the Franco-Russian Alliance inaugurated, and the isolation of France, to effect which he had devoted so much labour, finally ended. But the fears of Bismarck have now no reason for their existence.¹ The Dual, no less than the Triple Alliance, makes for peace. France has for the time acquiesced in the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and is straining every nerve to secure colonial possessions; while Russia has recognized the futility of attempting to drive the Turks out of Constantinople, and is busy in extending her empire to the shores of the Pacific. The Great Powers no longer aim at acquisitions in Europe; the object of each is to develop, as far as possible, a colonial Empire. The failure, however, of Turkey to carry out its promised reforms, and its war with Greece, checked for a time the general tendency towards world empires, and forced the Powers of Europe into temporary union in order to establish peace in the East of Europe.

Characteristics of the period, 1891-1900.

The years 1891-1900 have indeed witnessed a general upheaval in Eastern Europe, where the Christian populations resented the continual refusal of the Porte to grant reforms, and were deeply moved by the massacres in Armenia. Taking advantage of the widespread dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Porte, Greece plunged into a war which had the result of

The question of Turkey.

¹ For an account of the contemporary events in this chapter see Milner, *England in Egypt*; Whates, *The Third Salisbury Administration*; Daudet, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Alliance Franco-Russe* (1873-1893); Curzon, *Problems of the Far East*; *The Times History of the War in South Africa*; *The Statesman's Year-Book*; Stevens, *The Fall of Khartoum*; Bryce, *Impressions in South Africa*.

Colonial expansion of the Great Powers.

freeing Crete from Turkish misrule. Simultaneously with the existence of an unsatisfactory state of things in the East of Europe, which has now become chronic, the commercial and colonial expansion of Russia, Germany, England and France went on apace; while America, in consequence of her war with Spain over Cuba, suddenly appeared as one of the great Powers of the world. This almost unanimous desire on the part of so many nations to share in the unoccupied portions of the globe has naturally led to considerable friction, and often brought the Powers to the verge of war. But so far peace has been preserved among the leading States, and, by a continuance of mutual forbearance, it is to be hoped that no great war will break out.

The Armenian massacres, 1894-5.

During the years succeeding the fall of Bismarck the peace of Europe has only been broken in the East. Terrible massacres of Armenians took place in 1894 and 1895, and a wave of horror passed over the whole civilized world. Both Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury, on his accession to office in 1895, were resolved to force Abdul Hamid the Sultan to accept the advice of the European Powers and to carry out the long promised reforms. Lord Kimberley had brought about the Concert of the Six Powers, the immediate object of which was to compel the Porte to execute Article XLI. of the Treaty of Berlin, viz., "to carry into effect, without delay, the improvements and reforms required by local wants in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians." The difficulties before the Ambassadors of the Powers were immense. They had to obtain from the Porte guarantees for the execution of the reforms, and they had to remain united. Unfortunately cordial union was impossible. England alone was anxious for drastic measures, Germany and Austria were lukewarm, Russia and France were opposed to bringing force to bear on Abdul Hamid. With infinite difficulty Lord Salisbury obtained from the Porte an Imperial Iradé, ordering the execution of a list of reforms which had the approval of the Powers. But though no one expected a loyal execution of his promises, few anticipated that further massacres would take place in 1896. Thousands of Armenians were slaughtered in the provinces, and in August a general massacre of Armenians in Constantinople illustrated the real weakness of the Concert.

Massacres of Armenians in the Provinces and in Constantinople, 1896.

What, however, the great Powers feared to do was done by Crete. In that island the Christians held their own against

the Turks, though the latter succeeded in 1895 in suppressing temporarily the rising. It was, however, obvious that Turkey, if allowed, could stamp out the resistance of the Christians by force of numbers. Lord Salisbury, though hampered in Armenia, saw an opportunity of checking the Turks in Crete, and through his endeavours the Porte agreed to a Convention in 1896. But disorders immediately followed, and a new situation was created when Colonel Vassos, aide-de-camp to the King of Greece, and with the aid of Prince George, landed in Crete with 1,500 men and some artillery, in February, 1897. The Cretans had already demanded union with Greece, and it was clear that the Greek Government was anxious to bring this about. War between Greece and Turkey at once followed, while the Concert of the Powers declared for the autonomy of Crete under Turkish suzerainty, and an international fleet was sent to watch the island. In the war the Turks, under Edhem Pasha, were almost consistently victorious, and after the first battle, on April 17, the main Turkish army advanced into the Plain of Thessaly. After a succession of disasters, the Crown Prince, on May 20, obtained a fifteen days' truce. The Ministry of Delyannis fell, Ralli, the head of the new Government, agreed to withdraw all Greek troops from Crete, and after some delay promised to accept autonomy for the island. The Concert of Powers thereupon took charge of Greek interests, and mediated a peace with Turkey. No increase of territory was allowed to the Porte, which had to content itself with a large money indemnity. On November 23, 1897, peace was signed at Constantinople, and Great Britain, Russia, and France, took upon themselves to arrange for the payment of the indemnity. The question of Crete still remained. The proposal of Russia that Prince George of Greece should be appointed Governor of the island, was followed first by a deadlock, and, early in 1898, by the withdrawal of Germany and Austria from the Concert. In September an attack of the Turks upon British troops led to energetic measures by Admiral Noel, who was supported by the English Government, and Lord Salisbury declared that England was prepared, if necessary, to act alone. All Turkish troops were to be at once removed from Crete. France, Russia, and Italy agreed, and the respective admirals of the four Powers insisted on the deportation of the Turks, while the candidature of Prince George was revived. On December 31, 1898, he landed in Crete as Gov-

The rising
in Crete,
1896.

The
outbreak of
war be-
tween
Greece and
Turkey,
1897.

Victories of
the Turks.

Peace
between
Greece and
Turkey,
Nov. 1897.

Prince
George Gov-
ernor of
Crete, Dec.
1896.

Friendship
of Germany
and Turkey.

Russian
projects
against Tur-
key.

The Parti-
tion of
Africa.

The Confer-
ence of
Berlin, 1886.

England
and Ger-
many in
Africa.

ernor, and took over the administration. The firmness of Lord Salisbury had restored England's prestige, which the Armenian "affair" had dimmed, and the possibility of good emanating from a Concert of Powers was vindicated. The Græco-Turkish war, moreover, had illustrated the growing friendship of Germany with the Porte. German officers had, by their advice, done much to ensure the reorganisation of the Turkish army after the Treaty of Berlin, and the results of their advice were patent in the whole conduct of the war. In any future uprising against the Porte, the interest taken by Germany in its welfare will be a powerful factor in the development of events. The episodes of the years 1894-1898 showed, too, that Russia is determined not to allow Armenia to become a second Bulgaria. Throughout those years Russia manifested an anxiety with regard to the future of Asia Minor, which portends a Muscovite expansion in that direction. Batoum is no longer a free port, the Black Sea is a Russian lake, and the steady advance of the Tsar's influence in Asia Minor seems assured.

While these events were proceeding in the East of Europe, Germany, France, England and Italy, were endeavouring to strengthen their hold upon parts of Africa. In Uganda, on the Gold Coast, in Nigeria, in South West and South Africa, great activity has prevailed, and the contending interests of the Great Powers have often brought them to the verge of conflict. In 1884 Germany had occupied Angra Pequena, on the South-West coast of Africa; and from that time German colonization advanced. In the same year a Conference of all the leading Powers, including America, met at Berlin (November 15, 1884—February 26, 1885). The Conference decided that occupation of territory must be effective. It required the suppression of the slave trade and slavery; it established a free-trade zone, and it placed the Congo Free State under the sovereignty of Leopold II. of Belgium. From that time rapid progress has been made towards a partition of Africa, and the Brussels Conference (November 18, 1889—July 2, 1890) took further steps to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors and firearms to the natives, and to suppress the slave trade.

With Germany England had no serious causes of complaint. Bismarck had found that encouragement of colonial expansion occupied the attention of England and France, and was popular with a certain section of politicians in Berlin. Before

his fall Germany had made considerable progress in East Africa. In 1889 an Imperial Commissioner was placed over the German territory, which extended from the river Wami to Cape Delgado. In 1890 (July 1) an Anglo-German agreement was made, by which England gave up her possession of Heligoland, and received the Protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba. The spheres of influence of England and Germany in East and South-West Africa were also settled, and though France refused to recognize the agreement so far as it defined the British sphere of influence in the country from the lakes to Wady Halfa, the arrangement has not been disturbed.

The task of delimitation in a country like Africa must necessarily be difficult, and it was especially so in West Africa, where the French asserted claims to the hinterland at variance with treaties, and of a character likely to interfere with the policy of the English Government of allowing "trade to pursue its unchecked and unhindered courses upon the Niger, the Nile, and the Zambesi." In 1897 the invasion by the French of British territory rendered it necessary to come to some clear understanding, and an Anglo-French Convention signed in June, 1898, but not ratified till 1899, settled the boundaries of the British possessions.

The Niger
Question.

The task of making a satisfactory arrangement with regard to the Upper Nile and Central Soudan proved a less easy task, and there seems little doubt that the French proposed to establish a line of forts across the Nile Valley, so as to bar the advance of the English southwards. In view of some such action on the part of France, the British Government in 1895 had clearly defined its policy. "The British sphere of influence," said Sir Edward Grey, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on March 28th, 1895, "covered the whole of the Nile Waterway." In 1896 the reconquest of the Soudan was begun, simultaneously with a great disaster to the Italians at the battle of Adowa. Italy had in 1888 founded the Protectorate of Erythrea on the coast of the Red Sea, and during 1895 had attempted to extend the area of the settlement. In attacking Menelik, King of Abyssinia, at Adowa, the Italians suffered a severe defeat, and Kassala was threatened by the Dervishes. The advance of the British and Egyptian forces under Sir Herbert Kitchener saved Kassala and was accompanied by the defeat of the Dervishes at Ferkeh and the occupation of Dongola. In 1898 a general advance

The Nile
Valley.

The Italians
defeated at
Adowa,
1896.

The British
reconquest
of the
Soudan,
1898.

was made; victories were won at Atbara and Omdurman, and Khartoum recovered. With the death of the Khalifa in an engagement at Kordofan, the reconquest of the Soudan was accomplished. But before that event England and France had been brought to the verge of war..

The
Fashoda
Incident,
1898.

The battle of Omdurman and the recovery of Khartoum had been preceded by the arrival of a French force under Major Marchand at Fashoda on the White Nile. The English Declaration of 1895 and the colonial policy of France were thus brought into diametrical opposition. Lord Salisbury was resolved not to recognize "a title to possession on behalf of France or Abyssinia to any portion of the Nile Valley." M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, and Sir E. Monson negotiated in Paris, and the French Ambassador, Baron de Courcel, had interviews with Lord Salisbury in London. The situation became serious, though the French claims were absolutely untenable. On November 4th the French Government decided to withdraw Major Marchand's expedition, and the danger of war passed away.

Success of
England's
Policy in
Egypt.

The Eastern Soudan and a large portion of Central Africa have now been opened to civilisation, the Dervish power has been destroyed, and the excellence of the British administration has been fully vindicated. A great step, too, has been taken in uniting by means of the telegraph and the railway Cape Town and Cairo. The consummation of this aim has, however, been somewhat retarded by the war between England and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics. Ever since the Convention of Pretoria in 1881, following the British defeat of Majuba Hill, the Boers have aimed at complete independence. By that convention, supplemented by the London convention of 1884, the Transvaal was given autonomy for internal purposes, but was never given independence. A firm determination on the part of the Transvaal Government to shake off British suzerainty led to continual quarrels with England, while the Jameson raid and its failure in 1895-6, intensified the feeling of opposition to outside control. In the confident expectation of direct or indirect assistance from one or more European countries, the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics united, sent England an ultimatum, and war began in October, 1899. The corrupt Hollander Government of Pretoria fell before the advance of Lord Roberts, the Boer armies have been broken up, and in

The War
of England
with the
Transvaal
and Orange
Free State,
1899-1900.

spite of the continuance of guerilla warfare the British sovereignty over both the Republics is assured, and the union of South Africa will shortly be an accomplished fact.

The close of the year 1895 had not only witnessed the Jameson Raid, it also found England engaged in a dispute with America over a question of the Guiana-Venezuela boundary. On December 18th, England awoke to find that America had threatened her with war. The question was a complicated one, but no action on the part of the English Government warranted such messages to Congress and such despatches as were drawn up by President Cleveland, and Richard Olney, the State Secretary. For a time a deadlock ensued, and it was not till a panic had taken place in Wall Street that reason asserted itself with the American public, which hitherto had not understood the facts of the case, nor appreciated the position into which their country had been placed. After much discussion a solution of the boundary question was reached. By the Treaty of Washington, in February, 1897, a Tribunal was appointed which met at Paris, and made its award in October, 1899, thus satisfactorily settling the rival claims of Great Britain and Venezuela. During the dispute Mr. Olney had tried to base his case upon a misinterpretation of the Monroe doctrine. That doctrine, adopted by President Monroe in 1823 from George Canning, simply amounted to a declaration that any extension of the possessions of the European Powers on the American Continent would be dangerous to the safety of the United States. It was in no way applicable to the Guiana-Venezuela boundary question, for no European Power was endeavouring to extend its possessions on the American Continent.

The Guiana-Venezuela boundary, 1895.

The American Government, however, was fully justified in protesting against the Spanish misrule in Cuba. Ever since the century opened the Cuban people have had a deep interest for the Americans. The fertility of the island has excited their envy, its misgovernment their pity, while its situation commanding the Caribbean Sea rendered its eventual control by the United States Government a necessity. In 1867 a rebellion broke out in Cuba, and in 1877, President Grant's intervention led to Spanish concessions. In 1894, a fresh rebellion led to cruelties on the part of the Spaniards, and roused public opinion in America.

The Cuban Question, 1898.

On February 15th, 1898, however, an event occurred which

The Maine
incident,
1898.

forced the Americans to take action. On that day, the battleship *Maine*, which lay in Havana harbour to safeguard American interests, was blown up and sunk with 253 of her crew. The American nation was deeply stirred, and on April 19th, Congress resolved that it was the duty of the United States to demand the retirement of Spain from Cuba, and that the President was authorised to compel Spain's withdrawal. It further declared that the United States would leave the government and control of the island to its people. In the war which followed one American fleet, under Admiral Dewey, attacked Manila, in the Philippines, while Admirals Sampson and Schley first blockaded and then destroyed the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera, off Santiago harbour (July 3rd). Meanwhile, 15,000 men, under General Shafter, landed in Cuba, and after hard fighting took Santiago (July 17th). On August 17th, Manila was taken, and shortly afterwards peace was signed. Spain lost Cuba and all her other West Indian Islands, as well as the Philippines. It is not unlikely that, just as after her losses in the Spanish Succession Wars, Spain's position may be improved. Cuba was a constant source of expense, and a continual source of drain in men and money.

American
conquest of
Manila and
Cuba.

The importance of the
War in
America.

However this may be, the war marks an important epoch in the history of America. Hitherto she had steadily held aloof from European politics, and had taken no share in disputes between the Great Powers. Having no foreign policy she had no necessity for a fleet, and her army was only kept up for employment against the Indians. With the close of her war with Spain, America found herself in a new position. Her possession of the Philippines has brought her into close relations political and commercial with the European Powers, which have been so steadily dividing the unclaimed portions of the earth's surface. It has become necessary for America to build a fleet powerful enough to defend her interests, it will become no less necessary to set on foot a large and serviceable army. Like England, Germany, France, and Russia, America is now interested in the balance of power in the Pacific, and, in the year 1900, when the European legations in Peking were attacked by the Boxers, President McKinley fully recognized her responsibilities.

The War
between
China and
Japan, 1894-
1895.

Ever since the victory of Japan in her war with China in the winter of 1894-1895, the Far Eastern Question had rapidly

assumed great importance. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, April 1st, 1895, Japan secured the Liao-tung Peninsula, the island of Formosa, and the Pescadores Archipelago, besides a large sum of money.

Russia, however, was strongly opposed to the expansion of Japan on the mainland, and with Germany and France, compelled her to evacuate Port Arthur and the Liao-tung Peninsula. From the close of the war events have marched rapidly. Russia has occupied Port Arthur and Germany has seized Kiao Chow Bay, and in order to safeguard British interests, Lord Salisbury has leased Wei-hai-Wei, for so long as Port Arthur shall remain in Russian hands. Germany, satisfied that England's main object was to maintain the balance of power in the Gulf of Pechili and not to menace German rights in the Province of Shantung, has, together with America, supported the policy of the "open door." During 1897 and 1898 there was danger of a war breaking out between Russia on the one hand, and England and Japan on the other. But, thanks to the firmness and sagacity of Sir Claude Macdonald, our Envoy in Peking, and to Lord Salisbury's determination to preserve British interests, an agreement was signed with Russia, on April 28th, 1899, which practically recognized the policy of Free Trade. In the struggle England had the approval, though not the active support of America, which is vitally interested in the maintenance of the policy of the "open door." At the suggestion of Mr. Hay, the State Secretary, all the great Powers pledged themselves to maintain freedom of trade. But this unanimity between the Powers coincided with a revival of anti-foreign feeling in China, roused by the gradual partition of the coast, and stirred up by the Dowager-Empress, who carried out a *coup d'état* in 1898, and became paramount in Peking.

In 1900 this hostility to Europeans produced a widespread rising in China against foreigners, and the Legations in Peking were besieged by the Boxer Societies, aided by Imperial troops. All the nations interested at once united, Peking was occupied, the legations were rescued, and the Dowager-Empress with the Emperor fled. After many difficulties order was restored in China, the foreign armies were withdrawn, and the Chinese Government was reinstated under stringent conditions.

Whatever may be the future of the Chinese Dynasty, the

Russian
opposition
to Japan.

Germany
and
Kiao Chow.

Anglo-
Russian
Agreement,
1899.

The
Dowager-
Empress.

Attacks on
the Lega-
tion by the
Boxers,
1900.

The future
of China.

events in China since 1895 have shown that freedom of commerce will be maintained in the far East. Each nation is now supremely anxious for commercial concessions and trade advantages. But the majority of them are none the less prepared with regard to dealing with such a country of such a vast extent as China to sink their individual ambitions and unite in preserving the "open door."

America
and Free
Trade.

In this work the new position taken up by America will be of incalculable importance. Her commerce with the far East is extensive, her interests in that region are immense. The possession of the Philippines gives her an admirable station for watching over her commerce, and it is quite clear that any Power wishing to disturb the present arrangements for ensuring freedom of trade in China will have to count upon the opposition of America.

The Treaty
of Berlin,
1878, marks
a new
epoch.

From what has been already said it will be apparent that with the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 the European world entered upon a new period. Though on the surface it might appear that the antagonism of Germany and France still continued to be centred round Alsace and Lorraine, and though the Triple Alliance of 1883 was answered by the Dual Alliance of 1891, as a matter of fact a revolution was quietly taking place in all the chancelleries of Europe. Bismarck occupies a transitional position. The main portion of his career was devoted to the reconstitution of Germany, but during his later years he recognized the growing strength of the colonial and commercial movements. Before he fell Germany had stepped out to compete with other nations for a full share of the trade of the world.

Peace Con-
gress of the
Hague,
1899.

In view then of general consensus among the Great Powers that the expansion of their commerce and the development of their colonies need not be accompanied by internecine struggles, it is not surprising that, on the initiation of the Tsar Nicholas II., the successor of Alexander III. (1894), a Congress met at the Hague on May 18, 1899, to consider the best means of reducing existing armaments and substituting arbitration for war. England had already, in the case of the Alabama Claims, consented to have the claims of the United States decided by arbitration. Though the experiment was not satisfactory, England had persevered in its belief in the advantages of arbitration, and had used that method for settling the Guiana-Venezuelan boundary dispute.

Still, it was somewhat a surprise that the Tsar should take the lead in inviting representatives of the leading States to meet at the Hague to consider the best means of bringing wars to an end. America, China, Japan, Siam, Persia, and Mexico, together with the great European Powers sent representatives, and the Conference has undoubtedly done a great work in bringing home to nations the advantages of arbitration over war. The fact that Great Britain was compelled to go to war with the Dutch Republics in South Africa, and that hostilities broke out in China, in 1900, need not be regarded as in any way invalidating the usefulness of the Congress of the Hague. Rebellious dependencies and backward nations are sure, from time to time, to compel a resort to forcible measures, which seems one of the only means to advance civilization. But the chief European States which have been built up by steady efforts lasting over centuries, and who have advanced from childhood to manhood will, it is hoped, hesitate in the future before embarking on a great war.

Nicholas
II.

A new century, therefore, opens with hopes of peace, which may justify the expectations of those who were present at the Conference of the Hague. It also opens with many new problems for future generations. Europe remains divided between those nations which form the Triple Alliance and those which form the Dual Alliance; Germany, Austria, and Italy are united, and opposed to them stand Russia and France. But the desire for world empire has caused the main attention of the nations to be concentrated outside Europe. The Græco-Turkish war has brought prominently forward the importance of Asia Minor and Palestine; the re-conquest of the Soudan has revealed the possibilities to England of a wide dominion in the region of the Nile, the opening up of West Africa is of immense importance to England, France and Germany. The effects of the war in South Africa have yet to be seen, but one result has been to unite England and her colonies in a union the strength of which will be enormous, and the importance of which cannot be overrated.

Problems
for the
XXth Cen-
tury.

The effects of the Cuban war upon America cannot as yet be fully estimated. All that is certain is that America has entered upon a new period of her career, and that her entry into the politics of the world may profoundly affect the future development and relations of the Teutonic and Slavic races. But apparently the key of the relations of the European nations

New
position of
America.

Rise of
Japan.

to each other and also to America is to be found in the Pacific Ocean and in China. In the East a new nation has appeared, and Japan has already shown a determination to have a voice in any settlement of the Balance of Power in the Gulf of Pechili. During the eighteenth century the rise of Prussia and Russia startled Western Europe; during the last ten years of the nineteenth century America and Japan have taken their position alongside the older Powers.

The principal Rulers.

On the importance of preserving the peace of the world all the principal States are agreed. Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria, has the most difficult task. He rules over Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Slavs, and many other nationalities; it is only his influence and the fears of foreign invasion that keeps the Austro-Hungarian kingdom united. The Emperor William II. of Germany has an influence second to that of no other ruler in Europe. To reconcile his subjects to an enormous expenditure on the army has always been his most difficult task. He has encouraged commerce and colonization, and has acted firmly and wisely during the progress of the Chinese difficulty. Like Francis Joseph and Nicholas II. of Russia, with whom he is on terms of friendship, he remains devoted to the preservation of peace. Under President Loubet, France has continued the peace policy adopted in 1871; she has indeed occupied Tunis and Madagascar by force of arms, but though a conflict with England over the Fashoda question seemed at one time possible, she wisely decided not to enter upon a great war in a bad cause. Lord Salisbury remains the most experienced foreign politician in the world, and it is felt that his influence will always be used to preserve harmony among the Great Powers.

Deaths
of Queen
Victoria and
President
McKinley,
1901.

In January, 1901, Queen Victoria died after a reign unexampled in importance in English History, and in September, 1901, President McKinley was assassinated. Their successors, King Edward VII. and President Roosevelt, however, have continued to follow carefully the lines of policy already indicated in the later years of the nineteenth century.

END.

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